

N A T U R E
O F
Church-Government,

Freely Discussed and set out.

I N T H R E E L E T T E R S .



L O N D O N ,

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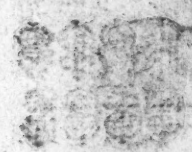
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T O

My Noble Friends,

S VV. Y. B. T. R. E N M E.

S I R S,

I Present you in the following Letters, the true Idea (as I take it) of Church-Government; which could it be received by all others, with the same degree of Candour I assure my self it shall by you, would be of infinite Advantage to end those fatal Controversies that for many Ages have perplexed, and, in this last, almost destroyed the Church.

I prefer the way of Letters to set out the Notion, for two Reasons: One, because it is the more Insinuating, and a way that is much taken, at this Time; The other, because really there were Letters sent by a Non-con. to a Conf. in which most of the things were said that are in these; only now they come refined from all the Reflections that were Personal, and from some Mistakes.

For my own part, I have nothing of Fondness in me for any Opinions; nor do I hold my self obliged unto these in the Letters, further than as they shall endure the Tests of Truth: I am very willing they should undergo them all, by strict Examination; though, I confess, I am as loth they should be

The Epistle Dedicatory.

be put to Torture. If upon the severest Enquiry any thing can be found in them, or duly inferred from them, as to the Main, that will not stand with good Authority, sound Reason, good Order of Polity, or Christian Piety, I shall soon shake Hands with them: But till then I cannot believe it any Crime to own what I am fully perswaded of, and what I am sure is no Popery, That Ecclesiastical Government is a Prudential thing and Alterable; and that the only True English of [Jure Divino] in the present Case, is [by Law Established.] I am,

S I R S,

June 8th.
1690.

Your most Humble

and Obliged Servant.

THE

of his preaching the Gospel, for Evangelizing that he
was sent by the Lord, and not by the Church, as the
Apostles were sent by the Church, and not by the Lord.
This is the difference between the two.

THE FIRST

LETTER.

SIR,

IT must be acknowledged that you took a very right Method in the Business of Church Government, to search, (as you say you did) into its very Original; and had not some of the Prejudices of your Education, or of your Circumstances, stuck too fast to you, I suppose that way you would at least have discovered the Institution of the twelve Apostles at first, before our Lord's Passion, and of the seventy Disciples to have been only Temporary; as well as in Accommodation to the Mosaical Policy, in which were twelve Philarchs or Heads of Tribes, and seventy Elders.

After our Lord's Passion, when he was risen again from the Dead, and about to Ascend into Heaven, concerning himself no further with the seventy (of whom under that Denomination, we read nothing afterwards in the Christian Church) he gives a new and large Commission to the twelve Apostles, and assigns them two Works. The First, the making of Disciples or Christians all the World over, by declaring and publishing every where, what, upon their own Knowledge, they were certain of, in reference to Christ, that so, by being Witnesses unto him, they might both aver the Truth of Christianity, and (being many) even compel Belief of it. And after they had made Christians, to put them under Orders, according to the Rules which Christ had given them, *Mat. 1. 3.* In two Words the Apostles were first to make Christians, and then to frame them into Churches.

In this properly the nature of an Apostle consisted, that he was a Person authorized to preach the Gospel of Christ upon his own Knowledge, as being himself a Witness of him; and in this his Office differed from that of an Evangelist; for though an Evangelist, as such, did preach the Gospel where it was not heard of before, and consequently made Christians and planted Churches, in which his Office agrees with that of an Apostle; yet herein it differs, That to be an Evangelist it was not necessary (as it was to be an Apostle) that he should be a Wit-

ness to Christ; it was enough to qualify an Evangelist, for Evangelizing that he had certain Tradition; but to be qualified for an Apostle, he must, by the Evidences of his own Senses have had certain Knowledge of Christ. This Notion of the Apostleship is not only couched by our Saviour in what he tells the Apostles, *John* 14. 26. and at his Ascension, *Acts* 1. 8. but is intimated also in the History of the Election of *Matthias* unto the Apostleship, *Acts* 1. from 15 to the 26. and most plainly set out in all of them taken together in conjunction, for so they make it demonstrable. *Judas* was once numbred with the Apostles, as being one of the twelve, but he fell from that Degree and Honour by his Transgressions, and therefore that the Scripture might be fulfilled, which had said another should succeed him, *Peter* at an Assembly of the Believers proposes the Ordination of one in his Room. And the better to regulate the Election, he first instructs them in the Nature of the Office, and Work of the Apostleship, to which that Ordination was to be made, and this he says, *in* with the rest of the Apostles, to be a Witness unto Christ, and particularly to his Resurrection; and then informs them, how a person must be qualified to become capable of being ordained to this Office, to wit, that he must be one of those that had accompanied with them, all the while the Lord Jesus went in and out among them, even from beginning to end, from first to last. Beginning from the baptism of John, unto that same day that he was taken up from them; He must, it seems, be such an one as had always been with the Lord, or else he could not be qualified to be one of the twelve. *Δὲ ἐν τῇ συνελούσῳ ἡμῶν ἀνδρῶν*, says *Peter*, therefore must one of these Men that have accompanied with us, &c. And why must one of these? but that it was the proper Business and Work of such an Apostle, as was one of the twelve, to be a Witness of Christ to all that he had said, and done, and suffered; and none could be such a Witness but one that had been always with him, from first to last.

And if the former is the true Idea of an Apostle (as you may plainly see it is) then no Diocesan Bishop or any Body else indeed can be one now, for whoever is an Apostle must be a Witness to Christ, and must have seen him, and that too after his Resurrection: And to be one of the twelve, must also have been always with him from first to last, even to *S. Paul* himself, who having not conversed with Christ upon the Earth, and therefore could not properly be one of the twelve, our Lord appeared in an extraordinary manner to qualify him for the Apostleship; so that as all the Apostles were Extraordinary Officers, it might be said of *Paul*, that he was an extraordinary superadded Apostle.

It is true the Apostles were called Bishops by *S. Cyprian*, but it had been more (though even then not much) to your purpose if he had called Bishops Apostles (as somewhere he does:) Christ is called a Bishop, and that by a greater Man than *Cyprian*, and yet I believe you will not infer from thence, that the Bishops are Christs, or are the Successors of Christ. I acknowledge also, That the Apostleship is styled an Episcopacy or a Bishoprick, *Acts* 1. But then it is called in the same Chapter a Deaconry too, verse 25. and therefore I hope you will no more infer, That an Apostleship and a Bishoprick are the same thing from the communication of the Names, than for the same Reason, That the Apostleship and a Deaconry are so.

The Apostleship was an Episcopacy, but not such an Episcopacy as that is which you contend for, any more than because it was called a Deaconry, it was such a Deaconry as that which was not instituted till some time after, *Acts* 6. Episcopacy is a word of ample Signification; for, not to mention prophane Authors, as *Homer*, *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, &c. in which we read the word: It is certain *Basil* applies it often unto God; *Peter* in his first Epistle applies it unto the Elders, and here in the *Acts* 1. it is applied unto the Apostles; and therefore being a word of so general signification, nothing is deducible from it, as to the special nature of any Office, except by way of Analogy.

Basil in Rom. in Plat. 32. & alibi.

To be plain with you, the Writers of the First Century (*Cyprian* was in the Third) had no thoughts that appear of any such Succession of Bishops in the Office of the Apostleship, as you imagine; even that *Ignatius* you so much admire and who pleads so much for the Prelacy of Bishops, though he compares them sometimes to God, and other times to Christ (which I believe you insist not upon, because you thought it a little too much), yet he never that I can find compares them to the Apostles: Their College, if you will believe *Ignatius*, was imitated, not to say succeeded by the Presbytery. I add, That *Enrichius* in his Annals of *Alexander* tells us, as *Hierom* also does, That St. *Mark* ordained, that the Presbytery of the Church of *Alexandria* should consist of 12. and no doubt in Imitation of the College of the Apostles, the Presbytery of that Church did very early consist of that number, though possibly not so early as to be an Institution of the Evangelist *Mark*. In fine, not one word in *Clemens Romanus*, a Writer of the First Age, of any such Succession of Bishops distinct from Presbyters, in the Office of the Apostleship; He knew but Two Orders of Apostolical Institution, to wit, the Bishops and Deacons; of which more hereafter.

Ignat. in Epist. ad Smyrn. & alibi.

Clem. Epist. ad Corinth.

Now if the proper Work and Office of the Apostles consisted in their being, by Office, the first Preachers, and Witnesses of Christ, by whom they were immediately sent for that purpose, then certainly that Work and Office, as well as their Mission to it, was extraordinary, and but Temporary. And if after they had made Christians by their Preaching, and had framed them under perpetual standing Orders, they did on some occasions interpose their own Authority, either by way of Direction upon new Emergences, or else for Reformation of Abuses and Miscarriages; That was extraordinary too, and by virtue of a Jurisdiction naturally arising, and remaining in them, (as also in the Evangelists) as they were the Fathers and Founders of Churches.

But that this Authority which was paramount and extraordinary, is devolved upon any other Persons, as Successors of the Apostles, lyes on you to evince; and I think it is an hard Province: For either the Apostles instituted such Successors which you call Bishops, (and I for distinction sake will call Prelates) while themselves were living; or else they did not institute and Induct them while themselves were living; but only ordained, That after their Decease there should be such Prelates in the Church, as their Successors, but not before. If you say the Apostles instituted and inducted Prelates as their Successors while themselves were living, I demand how that could be? Can any come into the places of others, even

even while these others possess them? And again I demand, whether there were, or could be any Officers instituted by the Apostles over whom themselves retained not Jurisdiction? for if the Apostles retained their Jurisdiction (which I suppose you will not deny) over the Prelates they instituted (if they instituted any;) Then they transferred not their Jurisdiction to these Prelates, that is, the Prelates were not such Successors of the Apostles as you conceit them; for none does give that which he keeps. I believe therefore you will say, the Apostles did not institute and Induct the Prelates while themselves were living, but ordained, that after their Decease there should be such in the Churches, as their Successors. But where I pray you is the ordinance recorded? In what Scripture, In what Fathers of the First Age? or how came you to know of such an Order? if no Tradition either of the Holy Scripture, or of the most Ancient and Primitive Fathers transmits it?

Clem. Ep.
ad Corinth.

All of any Aspect this way, in any Father of the First Age, is in *Clemens Romanus*, and he is against you; for having premised what is very remarkable, and much to our purpose, That the Apostles knowing through our Lord Jesus Christ the strife that would one day be about the business or name of Episcopacy, ὅτι ἐρίς ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, he adds, that for that Cause (to wit, to end such strife) they ordained Bishops and Deacons, κατέστησαν τὰς προειρημένους, They appointed the forementioned Officers, and the Officers forementioned were only Bishops and Deacons, of whom he had said before, καὶ δίδανον τοὺς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν δοκιμαζομένους, τὰ πνεύματι εἰς ἐπισκοπὰς καὶ διακονίας τῶν μελλόντων πιστῶν, they, (namely the Apostles) appointed the first fruits (of those Cities and Countries where they had preached) approving of them by the Spirit for the Bishops and Deacons of those that should afterward believe.

Cyprian Ep.
l. 3. Ep. 9.

This is a plain Testimony (so plain, that I see not how it can be evaded) that the Holy Apostles instituted only Two Orders of Officers in the Church, of which one indeed was that of the Bishops: But this Order of Bishops being the Order that is Contradistinguished unto that of the Deacons as well in this Father and in others, as in the sacred Scriptures, it must be understood of the Presbyterian, and not of the Prelatical Orders.

Clem. ubi
supra.

And when Intimated that the two Orders of Bishops and Deacons were the fixed standing Orders, which the Apostles had instituted, to continue in the Church from time to time, I did it with good Authority; for *Clement* having asserted that the Apostles instituted Bishops and Deacons, to put an end to all Contentions about the Office of Episcopacy (which would have been endless had not the Apostles thus provided against it:) He adds, And moreover they gave it in direction, That as often as it should happen that those Persons whom they had appointed should decease, others that were approved and worthy should receive their Charges.

By this time you may see how little that transaction about the Incestuous Corinthian on which you insist so much, does serve your purpose: For *S. Paul* his Interposition in that business was purely Apostolical and Extraordinary, from beginning to end, the Cognisance he took was Extraordinary, by his Apostolical Spirit

Spirit or Revelation, as *Hierome* interprets it (absent in Body, but present in Spirit;) The Censure Extraordinary, which was to give the Incestuous up unto Satan, as to a Tormentor: So *Hierome* carries this also; and the manner of the Execution extraordinary too, to wit, by delegation of his Apostolical Spirit, to the Church of *Corinth*, (when you come together and my Spirit.) So that the whole Proceeding was extraordinary; and though you are pleased to call it an Act of Episcopal or Prelatical Authority, and to make an Argument of it for Diocesan Jurisdiction; yet, unless you can find Diocesans now that have the Spirit, that can have a Cognisance of things at Distance by Revelation, that can give up Persons to Satan as to a Tormentor, and that can delegate their Spirit to a Congregation, the Exception lying against it will still continue in Force.

*Hierom.
Com. in Ep.
1. ad Cor.*

Wherefore as yet I see no other Prelacy instituted by the Apostles, but that of the Presbyters over the People; nor are there any Officers now of any Denomination, which ought to have (though you seem to intimate that some ought) a Mission like to that of the Apostles; for as they were Ambassadors, that were sent immediately by Christ, as he was by God, and brought their Credentials with them, sealed by the Holy Ghost; so I will not scruple to call them Extraordinary upon this Account too, any more than to call the Presbyters and Deacons ordinary, even though the Papists and the Socinians do so: The first Missions were extraordinary, whiles the Church was to be constituted; but in a constituted settled Church, in which the Officers are ordinary, their Calling is so likewise.

But to let you know what Standard there is of Extraordinaries, (for this you demand) I believe I have no more to do but to remind you of what you already know, that the use of speaking or common Language is that Standard; for certain, you that have read so often in *Cicero* (not to mention *Livy*, *Suetonius* and others) of *Honores Extraordinarii*, *Prasidium Extraordinarium*, *Potestas Extraordinaria*, cannot be ignorant that that is Extraordinary, which being not the settled standing perpetual order and use, is only for some certain time, and on some particular special Occasion or Accident. And it is in this sense of the word that the Roman Magistrates, in respect of time, are distributed by *Lipsius* into Extraordinary and Ordinary, when he says, *Aut enim (Magistratus) à temporibus dividuntur, ut Ordina & Extraordinarii. Illi dicti qui statis Temporibus, & semper in Republica essent, ut Consules, Praetores, Ediles, Tribuni, Quaestores; isti qui nec eodem tempore, nec semper, ut Dictatores, Censores, Inter Reges, &c.*

*Lipf. tract.
de Magistr.
Vel. Pop.
Rom. c. 2.*

It is true you tell me, that the Commission, *Matth. 28.* is not peculiar to the Apostles, and that therefore it does not Evidence, they were Extraordinary Officers; for (say you) 'There is indeed a Charge given them to Baptize and Teach, but it seems a wonderful way of proving them to be Extraordinary Officers, from the Authority they had to do that which any Ordinary Minister may do: and that by vertue of this Commission.

By vertue of this Commission! Excuse me as to that, every Body will not yield it; some think, that this Commission was personal, given only unto the Apostles. Go ye; and inforced with a promise that related only to them direct-

ly, *Lo I am with you to the end of the world*; That is, to the Consummation of the *Mosaical Seculum*; for so they understand that Phrase, and apprehend, they have sufficient Reason to do so, upon comparing it with *Matth. 24. 3, 14.*

But let that be as it will. Indeed! Is the Commission given to the Apostles, *Matth. 28.* not peculiar to them? Are they Empowered by it to do no more than every ordinary Minister may? I had thought that ordinary Ministers had been limited and local, not unlimited and oecumenical Officers; and that, by their Institution, they were confin'd to Teach and Rule the particular Churches over which they were appointed, and not to Teach and Rule the whole World, or (as the Apostles had) to have care of all the Churches. I pray tell me, is a Parish-Priest of as great Authority, as a Diocesan? and yet a Diocesan compared with an Apostle, is less than a Parish-Priest: The whole World was the Diocess of the Apostles. *Go ye, teach all Nations.*

I profess I am much surprized to find you deny, without Distinction, that the Apostles were Extraordinary Officers; especially after *Dr. Cave* in his History of the Lives of the Apostles (which I believe you have read) distinguishes their work, and shews what was Extraordinary in it, and what was Ordinary. But possibly you foresaw, that should you have spoken plainly, and have said as he does, that their ordinary work [the standing and perpetual part of it, was to Teach and Instruct the People in the Duties and Principles of Religion; to Administer the Sacraments; to Institute Guides and Officers, and to Exercise the Discipline and Government of the Church.] I would easily reply, That the Apostles had provided themselves of Successors, as to all this work, but that these Successors were the Presbyters which they Instituted in every Church, to feed and govern it; and that having ordained no others, it looks as if they saw no need of others.

But having this Occasion, I beg your pardon if I use it, to set out more fully the Institution which the Apostles made, for the Government and Edification of the Churches, and how that Institution came to be altered, and by what steps.

First then the Apostles instituted a Senate, *πρεσβυτέρων*, a College of Presbyters in every Church, to Feed and Govern it; and this is evident from *Acts 14. 23, 25.* where *Paul* and *Barnabas* are said not *κατ' ἐκκλησίας*, in the Churches but *κατ' ἐκκλησίαν*,——in every Church to have ordained Elders; a College of Elders, not a single Elder or Bishop. And as they are not said to have ordained a single Bishop or Elder in any Church, so much less are they (said) to have ordained any Prelate or Intendant over many Churches; every Church, as a Body Politick Compleat, had sufficient power within it self, for all its Ends: They ordained Elders in every Church.

And to me it is plain that *Clement* had regard to this practice of the Apostles, when, in the place I cited before, upon another occasion, he says of them, That going through Countries and Cities preaching the Gospel, they appointed the first Fruits of them to be Bishops and Deacons, having approved or Confirmed them by the Spirit.

That the Apostles instituted many Presbyters, and not a single Presbyter, in every Church, is further confirmed, not only from the frequent mention of a Presbytery found in *Ignatius*, which (as I shall shew hereafter) was Congregational, but by the Express Testimony of *Clement*, who blames the Church of *Corinth* for raising a Sedition and Stir against their Presbyters, (and therefore there were many in that Church) only upon the Account of one or two Persons; so that it is plain, there was a College of Presbyters in the Ancient Apostolical Church of *Corinth*. *Clem. epist. ad Corinth.*

Again, in the Presbytery or College, which was ordained in every Church, though all the Presbyters were equal, the Institution making no Difference; for *Paul* and *Barnabas* are said to Constitute Elders, but not to Constitute Elders and a Bishop, as a Superiour over them; yet it being requisite for Order-sake, that some one in every Assembly should have the Direction, and that Honour naturally falling on the Eldest Presbyter unless some other Course be resolved; it is most probable, that at first, the Eldest Presbyter as he had the first Place, so he had the first Direction of Matters: But afterwards, it being found by Experience, that the Eldest was not always the Worthiest and Fittest for that purpose, it came to pass, that the place devolved not any longer by Seniority, but was conferred by Election: And in this *S. Ambrose* (if it be he, and not rather *Hilary*) in his Comment on the fourth to the *Ephesians* is plain. *Vid. Sixt. Senens. Bibl. Sanct. l. 6. annot. 324.*

And admitting that all the Presbyters were called Bishops, as undoubtedly at first they were, it is easie to conceive how the first Presbyter came to be called the Bishop, and at last, for Distinction-sake, to have the Name of Bishop so appropriated to him, that the rest retained only the Denomination of Presbyters. But all this while the Bishop was but the first Presbyter, and had no more Authority in the College of Presbyters, than is allowed to *S. Peter* in the College of the Apostles, by all Protestants. Even *Epiphanius* himself (if we may believe *Danaus*) was at last compelled to confess, That in the Time and Age of the Apostles, no such Distinction [as that is which you contend for,] was to be found between the Bishops and Presbyters. *Dan. Com. in August. de heres. c. 53.*

Again, though all the Presbyters in every Church had like Authority to Preach and Rule, (both Functions being comprehended in the Episcopacy assigned to them, *1 Pet. 5. 2, 3.*) yet some of them being better qualified for the one, and some for the other, it is probable, that they exercised their different Talents accordingly; some of them more in the one, and some more in the other. This (as strange as you may make it) seems plainly intimated in that Injunction of the Apostles, *1 Tim. 5. 17. Let the Elders that rule well be accounted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine*: For here is a plain Distinction of Elders, of which some being better at Ruling, and some at preaching, they exercised themselves according to the Talent they had; those that were better at Ruling, in Ruling, and those that were better at Preaching, in labouring in the Word and Doctrine.

And

And since Labouring in the Word and Doctrin had the special Honour, no Question but the first Presbyter, as most honourable, was always of the number of those that laboured that way; so that the Bishop was the Pastour also, or Preaching Elder, that is, the Preaching Spiritual Work became appropriated to him, at first Eminentely, but afterwards entirely; and then nothing lay in Common between him and the Presbyters but only Rule. And this is what I can gather from Scripture of the Apostolical Settlement.

Spotiswood
Hist. b. 1.
c. 4.

Upon the whole it is evident, That a Diocesan Bishop was unknown in the first Age of the Church, and the only Bishop to be found then, was the Presbyter; which is further confirmed, in that the Scots, who received the Knowledge of Christianity very early, even in that Age, had not any Knowledge for many Ages after, that appears, of any but Presbyterian Jurisdiction. Even Bishop Spotiswood, in his History of the Church of Scotland, tells us out of Boethius, and Boethius from Ancient Annals, of the Culdees, or Ancient Scottish Priests and Monks (who, he believes, were called Culdees, not because *Cultores Dei*, as most think, but because they lived in Cells, their Names, as he says, being *Kele-Dei* and not *Culdei*, in old Bulls and Rescripts.) He says of these Culdees, That they were wont for their better Government to elect one of their Number by common Suffrage to be the Chief and Principal among them, without whose Knowledge and Consent nothing was done in any Matter of Importance, and the Person so Elected was called *Scotorum Episcopus*, a Scots Bishop; and this was all the Bishop that he could find in the first Times: But Buchanan is plainer, who tells us, That no Bishop (to wit an Order superiour to that of the Presbyters) ever presided in the Church of Scotland before Paliadius his Time; the Church (says he) unto that Time was Governed by Monks, without Bishops, with less Pride, and outward Pomp but greater Simplicity and Holiness.

Thus I have Evidenced what the State of Things was in the first Times of the Christian Churches, to wit, that those were governed by Presbyteries, in which all the Presbyters were equal, and all Bishops, only, for Order-sake, there was a first Presbyter, who having more Care and more Work, had yet no more Authority and Power than any other; but as the best Men are but Flesh and Blood, and the best Institutions lyable to Rust and Canker, so these were not exempted; there was a Diotrephes in the Apostles own Times, and those that followed him improved upon the Example: The first Presbyter soon became advanced into another Order, and from being First, commenced Prince of the Presbyters.

Dan. com.
ment. ad
August. de
heres.

We are told by Damianus, who citeth Epiphanius (and he might have cited others) that this Departure from the Primitive Institution began in Alexandria; and it is very probable, That the Appointment of twelve Presbyters, besides a President (for so Eutichius assures us it was there) did give occasion to the President, who easily took the Hint, to challenge to himself the Place and Authority of Christ, when the very Number of Presbyters, over whom he presided, made it manifest that they were an Imitation of the Apostles. But whether other Churches took their Pattern from that of Alexandria or no, 'tis easie to conceive in what manner, and by what means the Mistake might gain upon them: For after the first Presbyter became

became elected, and consequently was separate by Prayer and Imposition of Hands, no wonder he was soon taken for an Officer of another Order, much Superiour unto that of the Presbyters, who was distinguished from them by that Token of a new Ordination, and was in place above them. Ay, it is highly probable, That the first Recess from the Primitive Institution, even in *Alexandria*, began this way, if that be true that *Grotius* hath observed, That the Election of the President Presbyter came not in use there but after the Death of *Mark*: So that it was not (as *Emichius* reports it,) an Institution of this Evangelist. *Græc. Epist. 154. ad Gal.*

But what way soever this Alteration had its beginning, one may be tempted (if the Epistles going under the name of *Ignatius* be indeed his) to think that it had it very early; for this Father doth every where speak of the Bishop in respect of the Presbyters, as of God in respect of Christ, and of God or Christ in respect of the College of the Apostles; and these are such Magnificent Expressions of Superiority, that though they proceeded not from any Elation of mind in him that used them at first, and used them perhaps but as Rhetorick, yet they could not but occasion other Sentiments in others, viz. as of the Bishops being of a Superiour Order, so, of something of Domination and Lordship in his Office.

And yet how great soever the Degeneracy was in the Time of *Ignatius*, or very near it, it was not so great then as in the following Ages; *Ignatius* his Bishop for all the Gawdiness in which he dresses him, was only a Congregational, not a Diocesan Bishop; those first Times knew nothing of the Diocesan Princely Prelate, even the President, that *Justin Martyr* mentions, was but a Congregational Pastour.

That *Ignatius* his Bishop was only Pastour of a single Congregation is evident in many Passages, but I will cite but two or three to evince it. The first is in his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, where he speaks of the Prayer of the Bishop, and the whole Church, ascending in Confort unto God; so that the Bishop was the Mouth of the Congregation. And afterward, in the same Epistle, in an Exhortation to these *Ephesians*, when he presses them to obey their Bishop, he speaks of them, as of a single Congregation, that could meet together for Acts of Worship. Again, in his Epistle to the *Magnesians*, whom he also presses to obey their Bishop (for this indeed is the Burthen of all his Epistles,) he plainly speaks of them as of a single Congregation; Do you all assemble and meet (saith he) ἐπι τὸ αὐτὸ, together, for so that Expression is rendred 1 Cor. 14. 23.

I have shewed what the Primitive Institution was, as to Church-Orders, and have shewed also how and how early, the Alteration that was made in Congregations came on; It was first a Presbytery, and the Senior Presbyter the President; then a Presbytery, and the President elected, but still a Presbyter; afterward a President and no Presbyter, not an *Ab Beth din*, but a *Nasi*; not a Senior Presbyter, but a Prince, or chief over the Presbytery. And certainly one need to have but a little Experience, in the Course of things, to make a clear and distinct Conception of what hath been said upon this Subject. That which remains to compleat the Discourse, is to shew the same way, from Common Principles, how the Ecclesiastical Prelate, (or that Bishop over several Congregations) of the better

fort, such as *Cyprian, Augustin, &c.* (if indeed they were such) did first spring up.

I conceive (with submission to better Judgments) that this Bishop (of whom we read nothing that I know of in the first Age, or till towards the end [if then] of the second,) arose from the large Progression, and Spreading of Christianity; for then in great Cities, and their Appendages, the number of Professors grew so great, that all could no longer meet together in one place, to Celebrate Divine Offices, so that necessity compelled them to divide into several Congregations; which, if settled, must have several Officers, as Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons; yet still the Bishop of the Mother Congregation as he had the main hand (which is to be presumed) in forming and settling the Daughter Churches, so he still pretended to keep an Authority and Jurisdiction over them.

And this indeed had something of a Resemblance unto the Apostles; who as they planted many Churches, so they had always a Care of them; but how far the Analogy will hold, or where it strikes out, I shall not trouble you now to say; It is enough for the present to have shewed, that Ecclesiastical Prelates had not Apostolical Institution, and that, at best, they arose but by Occasions, and Prudentially only, upon the Increase of Believers.

What confirms this Notion is, That we never read in the first Age, and but rarely (if ever) in the second, of Bishops that pretended it of themselves, or that were affirmed by others, to be the Successors of the Apostles. In those first times, no such Pretensions had place; but afterwards, when necessity arose in the Churches of sending out their Colonies, then the Bishops of those Churches, that sent them out, soon found, in the Jurisdiction of the Apostles, something, that by way of Analogy, and with a little stretching might serve to countenance theirs, over those that they had settled.

These are the Sentiments I have as to the *Jus Divinum* of Episcopacy; in which I have made evident what Episcopacy it is I do believe is *Jure Divino*, and what not: But I intend not to Discourse now of the *Jus Ecclesiasticum*, by which only a Diocesan Bishop, or of the *Jus Civile*, by which the Lord Bishop is Constituted. My Province now, is only to shew, what I have shewed, that the Presbyter is the only Bishop *Jure Divino & Apostolico*; and that Prudential Considerations only made the Prelate, first the Congregational, and afterward the Diocesan Prelate, of the better sort. And in these Assertions I have my Vouchers, and those Fathers, and Fathers as learned, and as Pious as any Churches ever owned, and cited too by Bishop Jewell.

Verily (saith he) *Chrysostom* saith, '*Inter Episcopum & Presbyterum interest sermè nihil*, Between a Bishop and a Priest, in a manner, there is no difference. *S. Hierom* saith somewhat in a rougher sort: '*Audito quendam in tantam erupisse vecordiam, ut Diaconos, Presbyteris, id est, Episcopis anteferreret, cum Apostolus perspicue doceat, eosdem esse Presbyteros quos Episcopos.*' I hear say there is one become so peevish, that he setteth Deacons before Priests, that is to say, before Bishops: whereas the Apostle plainly teacheth us, that Priests and Bishops are all one.

S. Augustin

S. *Augustin* saith, ' *Quid est Episcopus nisi primus Presbyter, hoc est, summus Sacerdos?* What is a Bishop but the first Priest, that is to say, the High Priest? So saith S. *Ambrise*, ' *Episcopi & Presbyteri una ordinatio est: Uterque enim Sacerdos est, sed Episcopus primus est.* There is but one Consecration of Priest, and Bishop, for both of them are Priests, but the Bishop is the first.

And to what these Fathers say, we may add the Testimony of Learned *Grotius*, who, for the Reputation he hath justly gained in the World, of great Knowledge, and exact Criticism, may possibly signifie somewhat with you. He in his Epistle to *Bigninus* commending that of *Clement*, which I have often cited; among other Considerations that induced him to approve thereof, as Genuine, notes this as a main one, *Quid usquam meminit exortis illius Episcoporum auctoritatis quæ Ecclesiæ Consuetudine post Marci mortem Alexandria, atque eo Exemplo alibi introductæ caput, sed placet ut Paulus Apostolus, ostendit Ecclesias Communi Presbyterorum, qui iidem omnes & Episcopi ipsi Pauloque dicuntur Consilio fuisse Gubernatas.* That *Clement* no where makes any mention in his Epistle, of that Eminent Authority of Bishops, that by the Custom of the Church, began when *Mark* was dead, to be introduced at *Alexandria*, and after that Example in other places; but he plainly shews, as the Apostle *Paul* also does, that the Churches were [then] governed by the Common Council of the Elders, all of which are stiled Bishops by him, as well as by S. *Paul*.

By what I have said you may see how little Satisfaction I received in the Proofs you gave me of the early distinction between Bishops and Presbyters, for none of them do reach home unto the First Age, and to the Diocesan Prelatical Bishop; and if they did, would move me but little. For as for *Tertullian*, he more than seems to be on my side, when speaking of the Christian Congregations, both as to their Discipline and Government, and to their Worship, he says, *Præfident probati quique seniores, Honorem istum non pretio, sed Testimonio adepti*; That the Presbyters have the Rule and Government in them.

As for *Clemens Alexandrinus* his Imitations of the Angelical Glory [*ἡμετέρας Ἀγγελικῆς Δοξῆς*], in which you do imagine you have found the orders of the Celestial Hierarchy, imitated in the Bishop, Presbyter and Deacon; this is but a Flourish of Rhetorick in that Father; who though in his *Pedagogue* he speaks of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, as also of Widows; yet in his *Stromata* (Lib. 6. & 7.) where he treats of the Ecclesiastical Orders more at large, he mentions but Two, the Presbyters, and Deacons, and plainly intimates, that the Bishop was only a Presbyter honoured with the first Seat.

But I am much surprized at your Citation of the Emperor *Adrian* his Epistle to *Servianus* recorded by *Phlegon*, and related by *Vopiscus*; for certainly it appears by that Epistle that *Adrian* had but little Acquaintance with the Egyptian Christians, and then, his Authority is of as little moment; or else, these Christians were of the worst of Men; for he represents them, as well as the other Inhabitants of *Egypt*, to be a most seditious, vain, and most Injurious sort of Men, and particularly says, That those which Worship *Serapis* were Christians, and that the Bishops of Christ were devoted unto *Serapis*: He adds, That the very Patriarch

arch (*Ipsille Patriarcha*) coming into Egypt, was constrained of some to Worship *Serapis*, and others (to Worship) Christ. Was ever any thing more virulently said of Christians? and indeed more mistakingly? for as for the Devotion of their Bishops to *Serapis*, I cannot imagine any occasion that these Christians should give, which, with any Colour, should render them suspected of that Idolatry, but their Signing with the Sign of the Cross; and this might, it being a way of professing Christianity, that at that Time was newly become the Mode, and probably it had the Fate of New Modes, which is, to be approved of by some, and be rejected and nick-named of others.

I am the more inclined to think that this Story of *Serapis* had some relation to the Christian Bishops, who signed with the Sign of the Cross, because I find in *Pignorius*, in his Exposition of the *Mensa Isaica*, that *Serapis* was used to be denoted by a Cross, *Urceo* (says he) *superne infixæ Cruce Serapidem notat*. And says *Rhodiginus*, *Leet. ant. l. 10. c. 8, 9. figuram ejusmodi*; (speaking of the Cross) *Serapidis pectori insculpiant Egyptii*: Adding, out of *Suidas*, That in the time of the Emperour *Theodosius*, when the Temples of the Greeks were destroyed, there were found in the Sacrary of *Serapis* certain Hieroglyphic Letters which resembled a Cross. But to let this pass, I see no cogency in the Citation you make from the Emperour *Adrian* to evidence any such Distinction between a Bishop and a Presbyter to have been in that time as is in ours, and as you do plead for; for in that Epistle there is only the Name of Bishop and Presbyter, without any specification of Office signified by it, either as to its Nature or Limits; and possibly some will tell you, That by the Coherence of the Epistle, it is not so clear, but that *Adrian* might intend the same Officers by Bishop and Presbyter. But I have no list to engage in such a Dispute; and therefore hasten to tell you what is above any, that I am,

S I R,

Your Humble Servant.

T H E

THE SECOND LETTER.

S I R,

I Expected, that as I had essayed to set out a *Scheme* of Church-Government, and such a one as I believed and do still believe, to have been the Primitive and Original, and of Apostolical Institution ; so you likewise would have given a Scheme according to your Sentiments ; and then, by Comparing Scheme with Scheme, and each with the Account of the Scriptures, and other undoubted Accounts of the first Century, we might at last come to have made a surer Judgment, which was the Right and which the Wrong, than now, in the parcelling and retailing way you take, it is possible to do.

Indeed, to gain a true Light into the Nature and Frame of Church-Government, in the whole extent of it, one ought to distinguish the several States and Circumstances in which the Church hath been, and accordingly consider the several Orders, which were in it, in those several States, and the Grounds and Reasons of those several Orders. Now the Church (I speak of the Catholick or Evangelical Church) may be considered, either as it was a Constituting, before it had received External Form and Shape, as to Orders : Or after it was Constituted ; and that the Apostles, who had not only received Instructions from their Master what to do in things pertaining to the Kingdom of God, but were likewise invited by the concidence of Events, had put their last Hand unto it.

Again, the Church, after its being Constituted and Clothed with Orders, undergoes a Double Consideration, for it may be considered, either as it subsisted and stood alone, singly, in a State of Separation from Secular Governments of the World, or as it is united to them by the Laws and Ordinances (that in several Countries are several) which they have enacted and established about it.

Whosoever considers the Church whilst constituting, before it had received its external Form and Orders, ought at the same time to acknowledg, That of necessity there must be persons to constitute it, and cloth it with these Orders ; which

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persons,

persons, if vested with Authority so to do, are properly Officers: but yet, in that performance, cannot be conceived to be or act as ordinary Officers, these being permanent and standing, and belonging to the Church as constituted; whereas that Office had its place before the Constitution of the Church, as being ordained to constitute it.

This Office (as I evinced in my former Paper) appertained to the Apostles, it being their Work to lay the Foundation of the Christian Church, by preaching the Doctrine of Christ, as true upon their own Knowledge, and consequently making Believers or Disciples, which was to gather the Church; as also by instituting of Officers, and giving Rules about them; which was to put the Church under Orders, and to settle its Government.

On this Account the Church is said to be built upon the Foundation of the Apostles and the New Jerusalem, the City of God, (or the Evangelical Church in its most reformed State) is described in the *Revelations* to have twelve Foundations, answering to the twelve Apostles; who by the Doctrine which they preached and witnessed, and the Order which they settled, did indeed lay the Foundation of the Christian Church, and set it on foot.

It is true, the Evangelists as well as the Apostles were (in part at least) the Founders of particular Churches; But the Apostles only (with the Prophets) have the Honour of being stiled Founders of the Church; these being the only persons that were commissioned by our Lord Christ for that end: He immediately sending and directing his Apostles, but these sending and directing the Evangelists, who are therefore called by some (and not unfitly) *Apostoli Secundarii*, Apostles of the Second Order: So that I do distinguish between the Founding of the Church which was done by the Apostles only; and that of particular Churches, which was performed by the Evangelists as well as by the Apostles.

By the Church, which for distinction sake I call Essential, to discriminate it from particular Constituted Churches, I mean nothing but the whole Multitude or Company of the Faithful, as they are united to Christ, and hold Communion with him, as well as one with another, by one Common Faith, and by the participation of the Holy Spirit. And of this Church all that do believe in, and make a true Profession of Christ (though as yet they are not ranked in any particular one) are Members, and have their several Uses, according to the Measure of the Dispensation given them; from which Measure some are Principal and some are less Principal Members; *He gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, &c.*

This Essential Church, though it is a kind of a Body, Society and City, yet it is not a Secular Politick Body; I mean not a Body, united in it self, under one External Visible Head, by any Universal Politick Orders and Dependencies that run throughout it, such as are in Secular Governments, whether Monarchical, Aristocratical or Democratical, to make them one. But it is a Spiritual Mystical Body, a Body united unto Christ the Head by the Spirit of Faith and Love, under the Laws and Rules of Christianity; a Religion which obliges all its Members to Communion one with another (as much as is possible) for mutual Edification and Comfort.

Could

Could all the Members of the Christian Church have held Communion one with another, and ordinarily have met together for the Discharge of Common Duties and Offices; and all have been subject unto one External Government, common to them, there would still have been but one Congregation of them, as there was at first, and consequently but one Church, as to External Orders.

But the Christian Church, in the nature of it, being Catholick and Universal, that is, not walled in and confined by distinguishing Rites and Customs, as the Jewish was, unto a particular People, but lying in common to all Nations, as much as unto any; so that such External Communion and Government was absolutely impracticable in the whole, as taken together; therefore it was necessary that it should be practised (as indeed it was) only by Parts, each of which Parts was to bear the Denomination of the Whole, as being the whole in Little. This is the Original of particular Churches; in reference to which Churches it may be observed, That as the Jewish Church (which some call the Synagogue) was founded in a Nation, so the Christian Church, eminently stiled the Church, was founded in a particular Assembly; the Mother-Church at *Jerusalem* was only a single Congregation. It was for the former Reason, as well as for others, that the Apostles, when they instituted Church-Government, did not give any General Scheme that should relate to the Catholick Church, as to an External Body, or to Provincial, or to National Churches; but they only settled Particular Churches, as Homogenecal Parts of the Whole: And these in this Order, That as the whole Church was a free People that had not one only, but many Apostles, who, by the Original Institution, were to take the Care of it; so in every particular Church (which was to be a Vicinage under Orders, or a Company of Professing People, that could conveniently meet together for the Discharge of Christian Offices) there should be not one only, but many Presbyters (a College of Presbyters answering to the College of the Apostles,) who should Rule and Govern, but as over a Free People, and therefore, in all material Businesses, with their Approbation and Suffrage.

Thus in the Mother-Church at *Jerusalem*, besides the Apostles, which were Extraordinary, there was a Senate or College of Elders, as the ordinary standing Officers; and these, with the whole Church, or Body of the People and Brethren, are convened upon the Business of *Antioch*,

And thus the Apostles *Paul* and *Barnabas*, every where, in every Church or Congregation, are said to have established a Senate or Presbyters, and that too by the Suffrage or χειροτονία of the People.

So that the Original Government of the Church, of Apostolical Institution, was only Congregational; which Congregational Government consisted of the People or Brethren, and of the Presbyters or Senate; in which Senate he that presided, tho' in process of Time he was called Bishop, by appropriation of the Name which all the Presbyters enjoyed at first in Common, yet, in the Original Institution (he) was no more than the first-named Presbyter, and so no otherwise distinguished in it, than as *Peter* (was) in the Institution of the College of the Apostles, who is still first named in it. And such a Bishop I do acknowledg to have been from

great

great Antiquity, namely, a Congregational Bishop, that had the first Direction of Matters, a Person that was *Primus Presbyter*, a Presbyter only in Order, and the first of that Order in the College of Presbyters: But a Diocesan Bishop invested with the Power of sole Ordination and Jurisdiction, and he a Suffragan too (for this is the Bishop that is in Controversie between us,) this Bishop you must prove, if you can, and nothing is done if you do not prove him to be Apostolical.

Sure I am that S. Cyprian considered himself but as a first Presbyter; and therefore as his Name for the Bishop is always *præpositus*, in respect of the People: So he calls the Presbyters his Compresbyters, *Ep. l. 4. ep. 8. [Quas ad primitivum Compresbyterum nostrum: Et l. 4. ep. 6. Litera tua per Quintum Compresbyterum misse.* Ay! the 25th Epistle of the 3d Book is directed to (his) Compresbyters. And in the 24th Epistle of the same Book he calleth *Rogatianus* his Compresbyter; but he no where calls the Deacons his Condeacors; clearly implying by that Denomination, that when he was made Bishop he ceased not to be a Presbyter, as not become of another Order, only he was now a President in it, and possessed of the first Chair. I do not find you deny the Institution of the Presbytery (the which I have abundantly evinced,) or so much, that in the first Times, the Bishop was only the President of it, or the first Presbyter, which yet is the main of the Cause: And you can as little deny, if you will be just, the Power and Interest of the People, who are called in Scripture sometimes the Church and sometimes the Brethren, and in *Tertullian* and *Cyprian* the *Plibs*. Thus you find in the *Acts of the Apostles*, the People concerned in the Election of *Matthias* [*Peter* spake to the whole Assembly, *Men and Brethren*, &c.] So in that of the Deacons [*Wherefore Brethren look you out among you seven men of honest report, &c.*] And in the Ordination of the Presbyters, for *Paul* and *Barnabas*, ordained with the *ἡγεμονίᾳ* of the People, *Acts* 14. 23. Again, they are concerned in the Censure of the Incestuous *Corinthian*, not only by way of Approbation, as where it is laid, *When you are gathered together, &c.* 1 *Cor.* 5. 4. but by way of Judgment and Execution, verse 12, 13. In fine, even in the Debate and Decision of Controversies; for the brethren were together with the apostles and elders, and there was much disputing, (which, I should think, was rather among the People than among the Apostles and Elders:) And the Decretal Epistle goes as well in the name of the brethren as in that of the apostles and elders,, *Acts* 15. 1, 7, 22, 23.

Nor were the People entirely deprived and outed of their Original Power or Interest in Elections and Censures, even in the Time of S. Cyprian; for he plainly asserts to them the chief Share, both in the Election of the *Præpositi*, or Bishops that are worthy, and in the rejection of the unworthy; and this he doth both by the Congruity of the *Old Testament*, and the Practice recorded in the *New*; not only allowing to them (as some would have it) a presence in all Transactions, but affirming their Power (*Cyprian's* Word is *potesitas*) and their Suffrage. *Propter quod, plebs obsequens præceptis dominicis & Deum metuens, à pectore præpositi O S E P A R A R E se debet, cum ipsa maxime habeat potestatem v. l. eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi.* For which reason a people that observes the Lord's Commands and fears God, ought to separate themselves from a Bishop that is wicked, in as much

*Cyp. Ep. l. 1.
ep. 4. vid. &
ep. l. 1. ep.
ep. 3, 9.
l. 4 ep. 2.*

much as they, principally, have the power both of electing worthy Priests, and of rejecting the unworthy.

This is further evident in the Resolve, that *Cyprian* (as himself professes) *Cyp. Epist.* assumed at his coming first to the Bishoprick, which was, That he would do nothing of business by himself, and singly without the Counsel of the Elders, and Deacons, nor without the Consent of the People: *Solus rescribere nil potui, cum à primordio Episcopatus mei statu-rim nil sine concilio vestro,* (writing unto the Elders, and Deacons) & *sine Consensu plebis, meâ privatim sententiâ gere-e.* ^{l. 3. Ep. 10.}

In fine, in *Clement Romanus*, who preceded *Cyprian*, as living in the Age of the very Apostles themselves, we have a plain Intimation of the Interest and Right of the People, in the Election of Presbyters, and in their Rejection; from which also we may conclude the share they had in other matters; for in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, he says, Those who were appointed by the Apostles, or by other Excellent Men *συνευδενκαστος & ἐκκλησιας πολλης*, with the Consent and Approbation of the whole Church, and who lived worthily, ought not to be (injuriously) deprived of their Ministration. [And, by the way, this Testimony of *Clement* shews in what sense it is said, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* did Chirotonize Elders, it being evident that it relates to that which stands upon Record in the *Acts of the Apostles*, of what was done by those Two in that kind of business.] After the former evidences, I do not see how it can be questioned, that the Government of particular Churches was at first (what I have affirmed it) Popular and Democratical, as consisting of the Authority of a Senate, and of the power of a People, or in *S. Cyprian's* Language, of the Majesty of the People, and the Authority of Priesthood: Thus resembling the Greek Republicks and their *Ecclesia*, or popular Assemblies, which, at *Athens*, were composed of *Proedri*, who directed and ordered matters, and of the People who voted. And even *Origen* against *Celsus*, L. 7. as *Mr. Thorndike* tells me (for I have not *Origen* at present by me) compares the Government of the Churches of Christ, as I have, to the Republicks of the Cities of Greece.

But possibly you will grant me, that Congregational Government was of Apostolical institution; but it will be a matter of too hard a Digestion to yield, there was no other Government that was likewise so: And yet, if you cannot give me an Apostolical Draught of any other Church-Government, nor one Instance (as I believe you cannot) of any Church in the First Century, or till toward the end of the Second, (if then) but what was Congregational, nor of any Officers (besides the Apostles, Evangelists, and Prophets,) which were not local, and limited to particular Congregations: It must then be acknowledged, that no other Government (intended for after-times) but the Congregational was absolutely primitive, and of Apostolical Original; say not, it might be, though not recorded; for *Eadem est ratio non apparensum & non existentium*; to us it was not, if it appears not; perhaps but one Church in one City or Town at first; but no Instance can be given of one Pastor over divers Cities and Towns.

Cyp. Ep.
l. 1. Ep.
4.

The former truth is so great a one, that even in the time of *S. Cyprian* (when yet too many Novelties, not to say Corruptions, had invaded the Church) the Usurpation that was then begun upon the Rights of the People, had not prevailed so far, but that as the Bishop of that time was Congregational only, and local, (to speak generally;) so he was not ordained at large, but to a certain People, and Cure. Thus, saith *S. Cyprian*, was *Sabinus* ordained. The Passage is very remarkable, and since it not only evidences the Point I have asserted, but does also vindicate the Presbyterian way of Ordination used now, as a way that was used at that time, to wit, by the Concurrence of preaching Ministers, *Prespositi*, or Bishops of several Congregations, and the laying on of their, or one of their hands, for this reason I will cite it at large.

Propter quod (saith he) *diligenter de Traditione divinâ & Apostolicâ servandum est & tenendum; quod apud nos quoque, & fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui Prespositus ordinatur, Episcopi ejusdem provincie proximi quique convenient, & Episcopus delegatur plebe præsentia, que singulorum vitam plenissimè novit & uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit; quod & apud vos factum videmus in Sabini Collega nostri ordinatione, ut de universa fraternitatis Suffragio, & de Episcoporum qui in præsentia Convenerant, quique de eo ad vos Litteras fecerant Judicio, Episcopatus ei deferretur, & manus ei in Locum Basilidis imponeretur [or imponerentur.]* Wherefore it ought diligently to be observed, and maintained as a thing of Divine Tradition, and of Apostolical practice, the which also is observed by us, and almost in all the Provinces, that to the end Ordinations may be rightly made, the Bishops of the same Province, which are nearest to that People for whom a Minister is ordained, do all meet, and that the Bishop be chosen, the People being present, who have a perfect Knowledge of the Life that every one hath led, and also do thoroughly understand his ability by his Conversation. And this we see you also have observed in the Ordination of *Sabinus*, our Colleague, on whom, as well by the Suffrage of the *Brotherhood*, as the Judgment of all the Bishops, both those that were then present, and those that sent you their Letters about him, the Bishoprick was conferred, and hands imposed in place of *Basilides*.

Burd.
Lex i. Rab.
ad voc.

בנין.
Mark 5.
22.
Acts 13.
35.

Those learned Men that have told us that the Christian Church was formed after the Fashion of the Synagogues and not of the Temple, or rather the Tabernacle, did certainly own a true Idea of this business: There was but one Temple in all *Judea*, as but one Church, and one High Priest, to whom the other Priests, as also the Levites, in several orders, were subordinated, as well as one to another, in a certain line of Dependance. But the Synagogues were many, and many in one City, even some Hundreds in *Jerusalem*, and in every Synagogue, (if all had one form) there were many Rulers: Now particular Churches are unto the Catholick Church, the same, in proportion, that Synagogues were to the Jewish.

To be sure, this is manifest to whosoever considers it, That Christ and his Apostles did carefully avoid the Imitation and Similitude of the Tabernacle in all their Institutions, and all their Orders: The Apostles were never called Chief Priests, nor the Presbyters Priests, the Ministers the Clergy, nor the People the Laity; no National Form of Church Government was ever Established, no Consecration of Officers; no Garments or Holy days, or other such like Observances, were ever appointed by them, in Conformity to those of the Tabernacle. But when the Judaizing Opinion, which prevailed mightily even in the days of the Apostles, had, after their decease, diffused and spread it self farther, so that Christians came into an Admiration of the Orders, Beauty and Pomp of the Temple, which was but a fixed Tabernacle, and Christianity it self became considered (as by some it is this day) but as another kind of Judaism, then Ministers were turned into Priests, Deacons to Levites, and Ordination to Consecration; the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was turned into a Sacrifice, the Table to an Altar. The Tabernacle, Times and Seasons of *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, became generally observed, (only with some little Bowing, and bending of themselves to Christianity,) and the Tabernacle Maintenance in time became insisted upon also, as well as the Tabernacle Title.

Thus began the Defection, which upon the Tabernacle Grounds, and by pretences of some Analogy unto the Orders of that Fabrick, did afterwards grow up to a great height in most Countries, in a National Form and Dependence, but in none to that Perfection, as under the Papacy; which as it doth divide its Rites and Observances (almost all) from the Tabernacle, so it can pretend to very little Authority for them, but what conceited Analogies, and some Congruities of Reason, taken from the Tabernacle Orders, and the Tabernacle Worship, do afford unto them; but Christ and his Apostles appointed not any National Forms, as that under the Tabernacle was. Indeed, had the Apostles owned any Pretensions of a Design to erect a National (much more an Universal) Hierarchy, or Form of External Government in the Church, or had they done any thing to Occasion a Just Suspicion of such a Design, it would have much obstructed the true Design and End of their Mission, which was the planting and spreading of Christianity. For then, Magistrates and Rulers, in their own Defence, and for Preservation of their own Inherent Prerogatives and Rights, must have always opposed it; since the Permission of such an Authority, such a Power over their Subjects, that would not only possess an Interest in their Consciences, but be strengthened, as a Secular Empire, by a close Connection of all the parts of it, and an exact Dependence and Subordination, would render their own precarious; such a pretence must needs have awakened the Jealousie of Kings, as indeed it did, when Christ but spake of a Kingdom, though Spiritual, and but in Hearts; much more then, had it been an External and Visible Kingdom, for then, Reason of State, would for ever oppose Christianity.

But notwithstanding all that I have said, I doubt not but you will tell me, That the Government of the Church is Universal, and that there is a Catholick Hierarchy; that the Apostles were ordinary standing Officers, and that, as Apostles, they were the

Nil. l. de
Pape pri-
main.

the very same in the Primitive Church, that Dioceſan Biſhops are now; and Dioceſan Biſhops, the ſame now the Apoſtles were then; that the Apoſtles exerciſed Jurisdiction over the Particular Churches which they inſtituted; And that *Timothy* and *Titus*, who were Biſhops (not Congregational, but Dioceſan Biſhops) were ordained ſuch by *S. Paul*. And as you will tell me theſe and the like, very plausible things, of Biſhops; ſo I make no queſtion but others will tell me as plausible of the Council at *Jeruſalem*, and of the Government of the Catholick Church by Councils and Synods of Biſhops, in Correſpondence to that; That the Apoſtles, as Apoſtles, ſhould be Dioceſan Biſhops, and that Dioceſan Biſhops, as ſuch, ſhould be Apoſtles, ſeems ſo ſtrange an Aſſertion; and ſo much againſt the Common Senſe of moſt Believers, that I would reſt the Controverſie on that Iſſue. Sure I am, *Nilum* Archbiſhop of *Theſſalonica* tells us expreſſly, *ὁ ὁ πάπας, &c.* The Pope is no Apoſtle, for the Apoſtles did not make or ordain Apoſtles, but Paſtors or Teachers; much leſs the Chief of the Apoſtles: Thus he.

And indeed there were but twelve Apoſtles originally, which number was ſo ſtated that it gave Denomination to their Order, they were called the Twelve. As for *Paul*, who alſo was an Apoſtle, and not of the Twelve, he was the Miniſter of the Gentiles; and as theſe were a kind of Proſelytes to the Jewiſh Church, ſo he was a kind of Proſelyte or ſuper-added Apoſtle: Himſelf expreſſes it, *That he was one born out of due ſeaſon.* 1 Cor. 15. 18. And for the Offices of Apoſtleſhip and Epiſcopacy, I have ſhewed in my former Letter how much they differ.

'Tis true, you ſay, that Biſhops are ſometimes called Apoſtles, and that too by the Fathers; but, you may remember, I acquainted you they were not ſtiled ſo by any Fathers of the firſt Century, or till towards the latter end (if then) of the Second: Elſe, that Biſhops are ſometimes called Apoſtles I know, and *Dr. Cave* hath many Citations to that purpoſe, to which you have added ſome, and might have added more: but the Senſe in which they were called Apoſtles, is that only which is of any concern to us: And certainly, notwithstanding all that you have ſaid to the contrary, it doth not as yet appear, that thoſe Biſhops that were called by the Antient Fathers, Apoſtles, were Dioceſan Biſhops; for they might be, and really, for all that glorious Denomination, they were but Congregational Prelates, who, becauſe in a ſenſe they were Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, and the ſame, in ſome Proportion, unto particular Churches, that the Apoſtles themſelves were to the general, even for that reaſon they were called Apoſtles, and all as well as any Dioceſans.

That the Biſhops compared to the Apoſtles by *S. Cyprrian* (who is one of the firſt that compares them ſo,) were only Preſbyterical and Congregational Biſhops, is evident, in that, even there where he ſo compares them, he doth plainly Contradiſtinguiſh them to the Deacons; for even there he mentioneth but Two Orders, as *S. Paul* to *Timothy* doth; and therefore muſt be underſtood to mean as he doth, the one of the Biſhops, and *Prepoſiti*, which he compares to Apoſtles, and the other of the Deacons, who, he ſaith, were appointed by the Apoſtles, as indeed they were, *Acts* 6. to be their, and the Churches Servants, *Meminiffe au-*

tem. *Diaconi debent, quoniam Apostolos, id est, Episcopos & praepositos Dominus eligit, Discipulos autem post assensum domini in Caelos, Apostoli sibi constituerunt Episcopatus sui & Ecclesiae ministros.* And 'tis plain in that Citation, which I made before from S. Cyprian, that his Bishop or *Præpositus* (for both in him are Expressions of one and the same Office) was a Preaching Minister, ordained unto a certain People [*ad eam plebem cui Præpositus ordinatur, &c.*]

Again, that the preaching Ministers or Pastors of Congregations were considered, as in a Sense, Successors of the Apostles, and compared to them on that Account, is farther evidenced from the Testimony of *Nilus*, who, in his Book of the Primacy of the Pope of Rome, hath these Words, *τὸ αὐτὸν τὸ φέρειν*, and what then may one say? is not the Pope entirely the Successor of *Peter*? Yes he is, but 'tis as he is a Bishop, "and is no more than what every Bishop that was ordained "by *Peter* may easily challenge. But there were many that by his (namely *Peters*) "Hand received this Grace of Episcopacy; Ay, every Priest this way is a Successor of that Apostle, from whom, by Tradition, he received Priesthood, "and thus there are many Successors as well of *Peter* as of other Apostles; but in "other Respects they have no Successors.

Thus he speaketh plainly, That Bishops and Pastours succeeded the Apostles, but not in the Apostleship; of this there is no Succession: and Dr. *Reinolds* is fully of the same Opinion, and speaks home.

"Indeed it is a Point (saith he) well worth the noting, that as you do notoriously abuse the Church of Christ (speaking to *Hart*) for you perswade the "Simple, and chiefly young Scholars, who trust your Common-Place Books, "that *Chrysostom* spake of *Peter* and *Peter's* Successors, in the same meaning, That "the Pope doth, when he saith, That *Peter* and *Peter's* Successor is the Head of "the Church, and bindeth by solemn Oath to be obedient to the Bishop of Rome, "the Successor of *Peter*, whereas S. *Chrysostom* meant by *Peter's* Successors all them "whom Christ doth put in Trust to feed his Sheep, as the Master of the Sentences "and *Thomas* of *Aquin* do give the Name of *Peters* Successors to all Priests and "Prelates (as they term them) that is, to all Pastors and Doctors of the Church; "as S. *Augustin* teacheth, That it is said to all when it is said to *Peter*, *Deus thou love me? feed my Sheep.* As S. *Ambrose* writeth, That he and all Bishops have "received the Charge of the Sheep with *Peter*; as the Roman Clergy apply it to "the rest of the Disciples of Christ, and the Clergy of *Carthage* too. Thus Dr. *Reinolds*.

But I stay too long on a matter that in no degree deserves it; for to infer, that all Bishops are properly Apostles, because they have the Name of Apostles, is to imply, That Identity of Names, will infer an Identity of Offices, at which Rate *Joseph* the Mittendary in *Epiphanius*, whom he calleth an Apostle, would have the Honour of being a Bishop, and indeed, on that Account his Title is all as good as Bishop *Epaphroditus's*.

'Tis true, you tell me, you believe as S. *Hierome* likewise did, That *Epaphroditus* was really the Bishop, because he is called the Apostle of the *Philippians*, *Phi.* 2. 25. But as it is true, that in the Greek it is [ὑμῶν Ἀπόστολον] your Apostle,

Apostle, so it may well be acknowledged, That our English Translators do render that Expression very well [*your messenger*] since nothing is more evident than this, That the Coherence and Connexion of the Text will carry it to that Sense. *I suppose it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus my brother and companion in labour, and fellow soldier; but, your messenger [Ἀπὸστολος] and minister of my necessities; Which indeed he was, as appears by Chap. 4. 15, 18. Now the Philippians know that no Church communicated with me, as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only; I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things (which were sent from you,) but my God shall supply all your need, &c. to wit, as you by him have supplied mine.*

That the Apostles exercised a Jurisdiction over particular formed Churches, and over those particularly, which themselves had founded, is as little to your purpose, if Bishops are not (which they are not) *either of the Order of the Apostles, or else Founders of Churches, as these were; as in it self it is a Truth, and not to be questioned.*

The Jurisdiction of the Apostles over particular Churches undergoes a Double Consideration, in neither of which it symbolizeth with the Diocesan or Episcopal; for it may be considered, either as it was an Appurtenance and Incident to the Office of the Apostleship, to wit, as the Apostles were *Founders* of the Church Essential and thus all the Apostles, as they had one Commission, so they had equal Authority, equal Jurisdiction over all the Churches. Or it may be considered as accruing to the Apostles from more particular Respects, to wit, as they were the *Fathers* and Founders of particular Churches: The former I call Essential, the latter Accidental Jurisdiction of the Apostles.

Take the Jurisdiction of the Apostles in the first Consideration, and then Diocesan Bishops can no more pretend thereto, than they can to the Office of the Apostleship [which was oecumenical for its extent, as well as Infallible for its Execution,] it being an Appurtenance and Incident only unto this, and dyed with their Persons; Or, take it more particularly, for that Authority which they assumed, and were understood to have, in a more particular manner, over the Persons they had converted, and the Churches they founded, (between which and themselves on that foot, there was a more particular Relation than between others and them) although in this Consideration the Jurisdiction of the Apostles was no other than what was common to them, with the Evangelists or any other Persons that planted Christianity, made Conversions and settled Churches in any particular Regions or Places; yet even this is as far from being Diocesan as from being ordinary.

A Founder that institutes a College, settles Orders and makes Statutes, though he doth not constitute himself (as rarely any does) a Visitor, yet, on extraordinary Occasions, and in Difficulties arising about the Meaning of Statutes, or their Application, upon incident Emergencies he would think it but a Duty, while himself lived, and the Founded should think it theirs, to have recourse unto him and to take his Directions; but he dying, that Authority, as being incident only unto his Person, dyes with him; Founders, as such, have no Successors.

I touched

I touched in my former Letter on this latter Jurisdiction, in respect whereof, in a right sense, one Apostle may well be affirmed to have had an Authority and Power, in some places, and over some Persons, more than another; for thus, in a particular manner, *Paul* was stiled the Apostle of the Uncircumcision, as *Peter* was of the Circumcision.

The Apostle *Paul*, 1 Cor. 4. Expostulates with the *Corinthians* on this Account; he asserteth the Authority he had over them, and shews the ground of that Authority; for he affirms, That as he was their Father in Christ, so he had an Authority over them, as a Father over his Children, *ver. 14, 15, 16. I write not these things to shame you, but as my beloved Sons I warn you; for though you have ten thousand Instructors in Christ, yet have you no: many Fathers; for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel.* Thus he claims an Authority over them as being their Father, or one that had Converted them, which Authority he plainly distinguishes from theirs, who were only Instructors. Now Bishops as such, are but Instructors of Churches, not Fathers; they may Convert and Professite single Persons, but as Bishops they do not Found Churches, but only Feed the Churches already founded.

In vertue of this Authority, as he was their Father and Founder, the Apostle Exercised that Jurisdiction over the Church at *Corinth*, which you call *Episcopal*; a thing so evident, that nothing can be more, to one that observes the Connexion: for in the latter end of the Fourth Chapter, he evinced (as I said) that he had a paternal Authority over them, as well as Care for them; and immediately in the beginning of the 5th. as an Instance of that Authority, he gives them that Direction about the Incestuous Person, upon which you insist.

So that in this Transaction (with the *Corinthians*) the Apostle acted not as an ordinary Bishop, but acting by vertue of that Authority which he had over them, as he was the Person that had Converted them, and was their Father and Founder. The Quality he acted in was Extraordinary, and particular. Again, the Cognisance he took was Extraordinary too, he was present in Spirit, and not in Care and Affection only, [*affectu et sollicitudine*] as, by a supposed Parallel in the Expression, *Coloss. 2. 5. you would have me believe; for he makes his presence the ground of his proceeding in the Censure or Judgment which he pronounced, for I verily as absent in Body, but present in Spirit, have Judged already, and all Judgment must proceed upon Evidence, by View, or Proof, not Affection, and therefore his presence, which is the Ground of his proceeding, must be a Spiritual view. The Report or general Scandal, which is mentioned ver. 1. on which you insist, was but a Motive (to the Apostle) to invite him to consider the matter, it was not the Ground on which he proceeded in his Censure: this, as he plainly affirms, was his Spiritual view, or presence in Spirit. And what Spirit? but that same Spirit mentioned afterwards in the same Text; (which Spirit you must yield to be Extraordinary, and Apostolical;) when you come together, and MY SPIRIT; it being but reason, that the same Spirit which gave in Evidence, should also assist at the Execution.*

But

But this latter Spirit (you say) was but a Letter, or Authority, conveyed by the Apostles Letter; and why (say I) the latter Spirit not the same with the former? and where, I pray you, is (Spirit) taken for a Letter, or for Authority conveyed by it? I am sure this same Apostle distinguishes Letter, Word, and Spirit, *2 Theff. 2. 2.* and therefore, [and my Spirit] should not be [and my Letter,] especially when joyned in the manner it is here with the *Δύναμις*, the mighty power of our Lord Jesus Christ; which, what it is, may more particularly be understood by *Act. 1. 8.* But you shall receive the POWER of the Holy Ghost coming upon you.

And the Sentence passed by S. Paul, was as Extraordinary as the Cognisance whereon he grounded it: for [To deliver to Satan] was not to Excommunicate, either with the lesser Excommunication, which is Suspension from the Sacrament, or with the greater, which is a solemn Excision from the Church. Some will tell you it was a Censure wholly unknown unto the Jews, who yet had all the Forms of Excommunication, *Nidui*, *Cberem* and *Maranatha*; and that in the whole New Testament, nothing in the least is said to support this thought, that Tradition to Satan is Excommunication. The delivery to Satan (as many of the the Antient Fathers believed, some of whom your self do cite) was certainly a Judiciary giving the Delinquent to the Devil, as to a Tormentor, for so the Apostles Phrase doth carry it, when he saith it. It was done *ἐς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκὸς*, for the Destruction of the Flesh; and it was practised only by the Apostles, by their Apostolical Power, of which see *Petrus Molinens* in his *Vates*, l. 2.

c. 11.

You do indeed acknowledg at last, that Corporal Affliction, or Pains inflicted by the Devil as by a Tormentor, had Place in the first Times, and by virtue too of Apostolical Censure; but then, by way of Qualification, you say also, That it was a Consequent of Excommunication: But this is a thing that will not be received meerly upon your Authority, or upon the Authority of any Men, that lived in Times remote from the first; for it requires a Proof, either from some Text of the Holy Scriptures, or from some other Record of that same Time. It is clear to me, That the *Exarefsis*, the separation or taking away from among them, is the only Excommunication that is mentioned by the Apostles in *1 Cor. 5.* and yet I fancy, since it answered to the Jewish *Nidui*, which excluded not from the Temple, it is not that which you intend. However, it is plain that this *Exarefsis* was not a Delivery unto Satan; for the Apostle speaks of the Separation or taking away of the Man from among them, as of a thing they ought to have done of themselves, without any Interposition of his, Verse 2. And you are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed might be taken away from among you; to wit, according to the purport of a former Epistle v. 9. whereas the delivery unto Satan was the Apostle's own proper Act, effected by his Apostolical Spirit, and by the mighty Power of the Lord Jesus Christ, verse 3, 4, 5.

Vid. Buxt. Lexic. Rab. ad voc. Nidui. Selden de jur. nat. & gent. l. 4. c. 9.

Again,

Again, it is plain that this *Exorcist* was nothing but their Noncommunicating and Nonconversing with the Incestuous, the Corinthians being obliged in point of duty, to have excluded him from their Society, so as ordinarily not to keep him Company; for such a Direction had bin given to them by the Apostle in a former Epistle, v. 9. as a Rule of their Deportment towards the Ungodly, which Rule he yet found himself obliged to Explain and Qualifie in *this*, as which was only to be understood of their Demeanour towards Professors, and indeed, (unless they would go out of the World) practicable only towards these, and so, not to be understood absolutely and unlimitedly, of all, verse 11. And having touched their Remissness, verse 2. and reinforced his Direction with its due Limitation and Qualification verse 10, 11. he presses them to follow it in their Carriage towards this incestuous Person, verse 13. *THEREFORE* put away from among your selves, that wicked person; *THEREFORE*, to wit, because I did write unto you in a former Epistle, not to accompany with Fornicators, which now I tell you must be understood of Professors that are such, therefore put away from among your selves that wicked Fornicator (and so purge out the old Leaven) by avoiding Conversation and Society with him, as much as is possible. The connexion sheweth, That not accompanying with this Wicked one, is the same with purging out the Old Leaven; and not accompanying with him was their putting him away from among themselves: Not accompanying with him was their Judgment upon him, but the Delivery of him unto Satan was the Apostle's; no Instance can be given of any Persons that gave up any unto Satan but the Apostles.

Thus, if you please to take the Trouble of reviewing the Text, a second time, with its intire Coherence, you cannot but observe, That it shews, that something must be done by the Apostle's own Power, and something by the People's: in what relates unto the *Apostle's*, there is first the Motive or Inducement he had to consider the Matter, and this was the general Scandal of it, verse 1. Secondly, The Evidence whereupon he did proceed to pass this Sentence, which was his own Spiritual View, *though he was absent in body, yet he was present in spirit* (the Antithesis must be marked) and therefore he judgeth, verse 2. Thirdly, The Sentence which he passed, and that was, That the Criminal should be delivered to Satan, verse 5. Fourthly, The manner how this Sentence was to be executed, and that was, *in a full congregation, in the name of Christ, with the apostolical Spirit, and by the mighty Power of the Lord Jesus Christ*, verse 6. And shew me the Diocesan that can do all this. What follows in the Chapter relates to the Judgment of the People, and their putting of the Incestuous away; which (as I have shewed, and that by the Reference and Coherence) is quite another thing than the delivery of him to Satan.

By this Time I believe it is very manifest, That Diocesan Jurisdiction cannot be founded with any clearness of Title upon the Instance alledged, *this* being plainly Apostolical, and grounded on that Authority which *S. Paul* had in a particular manner over the Church of *Corinth*, both as he was an Apostle, and as their Apostle and Founder; and no Example must be pressed further than the Ground and Reason thereof will carry it.

As for *Timothy* and *Titus*, who are honoured by you (as well as by others) with the Title of Bishops, there is so much said toward the unbishoping of them by Mr. *Prinne* and by *Smectymnus*, &c. that I need say nothing; wherefore I will only offer, that neither of them is stiled a Bishop in the Holy Scripture (for the Epistolary *Postscripts* are none) when-ever it mentions the being of them at their reputed Bishopricks; the one at *Ephesus*, the other at *Crete*. Again, *Timothy* in effect is stiled an Evangelist by *S. Paul*; for when this Apostle exhorts *Timothy* to make a faithful Discharge of the Office committed to him, his Expression is, *do the work of an Evangelist*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 5. And indeed as an Evangelist was a Secondary Apostle, that is, not a settled standing Officer, fixed in any one planted constituted Church, but an Assistant to the Apostles in planting and settling Churches; so we find *Timothy*, as an Itinerant Officer, often going from Place to Place upon occasion, as he was Invited or Employed by *Paul*. The Stay he makes even at *Ephesus*, was only upon the Desire of that Apostle, and not from any Obligation arising from the Duty of his Place, as had he been a Bishop it would certainly have been; for 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. *Paul* is said to request *Timothy* to stay at *Ephesus*, but is not said to have ordained him Bishop there. In short, the Tenor of the Epistle, that mentions the being of *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, as it directs him in the Choice of Officers, and gives him Disciplinary Rules, so it sheweth plainly, that his Business there was to perfect the Work of the Settlement of the Church begun by *Paul*; and this is the more probable, because his Stay and Business is limited to that Apostle's Return, 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. compared with Chap. 3. 14, 15. Chap. 4. 13.

And for *Titus*, it is as evident that all his Business at *Crete* was that of an Evangelist, as that *Timothy's* was so at *Ephesus*, for he was left at *Crete* (that is the Expression) he is not said to be ordained Bishop or Metropolitan there, no more than *Timothy* is said to be ordained the Bishop of *Ephesus*, but as the latter is affirmed to be requested to stay, and not to have been settled as Bishop there, so the former is only said to be left at *Crete*. And what for? but to do the Work of an Evangelist, for so it was, to assist and help the Apostles in the Work of founding and settling the Churches; for this cause left I thee in *Crete*, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, or left undone (to wit, by *Paul*) and ordain Elders in every City, *Tit.* 1. 5. In the Acts of the Apostles *Paul* and *Barnabas* are said to ordain Elders in every Church, and here *Titus* is said to be left in *Crete* to do it.

Indeed both *Timothy* and *Titus* in what they did, the one at *Ephesus* the other at *Crete*, were only Deputies that acted as by Delegation of *S. Paul*, according to the Instructions which he gave them; for this Apostle saith to *Titus*, I left thee in *Crete* to ordain Elders, AS I HAD APPOINTED, and sets out the Qualifications that *Titus* must observe in the Elders he ordained, *Tit.* 1. verse 6, 7, 8. &c. In like manner he instructs *Timothy*, how he was to behave himself in the House of God, in settling Elders and Deacons, 1 *Tim.* from 1, to 15. so that if Bishops be not Evangelists, as well as Apostles, I do not see of what Advantage *Timothy* and *Titus* their Business at *Ephesus* and at *Crete* can be to your Cause.

You

You agree and that he is stiled Bishop by S. Luke, who yet had a fair Occasion
 but it in his *Acts of the Apostles*, had James been indeed such a Bishop; nor is
 he so stiled by any other of the Sacred Writers; and if we except the *Roman*
Clement (in an Epistle said to be his) the first that stiled him so was *Hegesippus*, *Theod. M.*
 who lived at least a whole Century after. Another *Clement*, he of *Alexandria*, *1668*
 is also cited by *Theodorus Mitochita* and by others, to prove it; but really the *R m. p. 61.*
 Story as *Clement* tells it, (if they represent him right) carries its own Confuta-
 tion; for they make him say, That 'James, by Divine Appointment, was or-
 dained to be the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to prevent any Emulation and Di-
 spute, that *Peter*, *John* and the other *James* might otherwise have had for that
 honour.

But however that was, I do acknowledge for my own part, that James was
 Bishop of *Jerusalem*, but I acknowledge it only in the sense in which he was Bishop
 of all the other Churches, and he was no more in the Opinion of the first *Cle-*
ment, if we credit Bishop *Jewell*; for this Bishop in the Defence of his Apolo-
 gy, Part 2. Page 98. brings in *Clement* speaking thus, 'I send greeting unto
 James the Brother of our Lord, and the Bishop of Bishops, Governour of the
 Holy Church of the Jews at *Jerusalem*, and also of all the Churches, that by
 Gods Providence are every where founded; here, saith Bishop *Jewell*, James is
 the Head of all Churches whatsoever.

By this Testimony it plainly appears, that James the reputed Bishop of *Jeru-*
salem, as he was James the Apostle, so he was no otherwise Bishop of that
 City, than as *Peter* was of *Rome*, and how that was, Dr. *Reinolds* has told us in
 his Conference with *Hart*, where he saith, 'But whether *Eusebius*, or *Hierom*,
 or *Damasus*, or whosoever have said that *Peter* was a Bishop, either they use
 the name of [Bishop] generally, and so it proves not your purpose, or if
 they meant it, as commonly we do, they missed the Truth: for generally a
 Bishop is an Overseer, in which Signification it reaches to all who are put in
 Trust with Oversight and Charge of any thing, as *Eliazer* is called Bishop of
 the Tabernacle, and Christ the Bishop of our Souls. But in our common
 use of speech it notes him to whom the oversight and charge of a parti-
 cular Church is committed, such as were the Bishops of *Ephesus*, *Philippi*, and
 they whom Christ calls the Angels of the Churches: Now *Peter* was
 not Bishop after this latter sort: for he was an Apostle, and the Apostles
 were sent to Preach to all the World; wherefore when the Fathers said he
 was a Bishop, either they meant it in the former sense, or ought to have
 meant it.

In fine, it may not be amiss on this occasion to take notice of an Observation
 made by a learned Man (and he too a Bishop) in reference to the Testime-
 ny of Fathers, to wit, 'That they wrote things they saw not, and so fram-
 ed matters according to their own Conceits; and many of them were taint-
 ed with Partial Humours': which another, more softly, expresseth thus; 'That
 they, (namely the Fathers) finding the name of Bishop continued in the C-
 ceon

cession of one Pastor after another, judged ^{and spake} according to them that lived in their times] An Observation, ^{went before,} with respect to the Fathers, that lived at a greater distance ^{than that he of} Clement did, from the Apostolical time.

Thus I have briefly touched the Arguments offered by you in affirmance of Diocesan Episcopacy; only to that, which is taken from the Angels of the Churches in the Revelation, I have said nothing, because I do not think it worthy of a particular Consideration: for since these Angels, for ought we know, might be only so many several Presidents of the Presbyteries in Congregational Churches, the instancing of them makes but little for your purpose, who do affirm Diocesan Prelacy.

But as you have argued for Diocesan Authority, which you would have of Apostolical Institution, so others do for the Synodical, which (as they apprehend) is grounded upon the Synod (so they call the Assembly) at *Jerusalem*, that was convened upon the appeal made by the Believers at *Antioch*. For, say they, this Controversie was absolutely and finally decided by that Synod, and a Decree or Canon made, and this sent not only to the Church at *Antioch*, but to all the Churches besides, of *Syria* and *Cilicia*.

I deny not that the former Practice was the Occasion of Synods, or Assemblies of Bishops; but I affirm that that Assembly, though it had something in it of more resemblance to a Synod properly so called, than is in meer Convocations, of the Clergy, the Brethren (as well as the Apostles and Elders) being in that Assembly, who generally are Excluded from Convocations; yet it was not properly a Synod. A Synod properly, whether Diocesan, Provincial or National, being but an Ecclesiastical Parliament, of the one sort, or of the other; in which all that are obliged by the Determinations and Resolutions of it, must be understood to be in Person, or by Representation; as either being there themselves, or else electing those that do Compose it, to represent and stand for them.

The Controversie at *Antioch* was about a Doctrinal Subject, of great Concernment, whether Circumcision and Obedience to all the Mosaical Laws was necessary to Salvation; for This some of *Judea* taught the Brethren, and were opposed for it by *S. Paul* and *Barnabas*; but the Contention running high, and neither side yielding, all agreed to send to *Jerusalem* to the Apostles and Elders, as to the Original Deliverers of the Christian Doctrine, which being a Doctrine of Faith, and not of Discourse and Ratiocination, they rightly judged that it must be resolved at last, into the Testimony and Witness of those who had received it from Christ, and those particularly, whose Office it was to transmit it to others, and to Vouch it. So that in this respect the Case is particular, the appeal was made unto the Apostles and Elders, or old Disciples, as those having conversed with our Lord, had immediately received the Christian Doctrine from him; which Reason for the Appeal was Peculiar to those Persons that made and received it, and therefore can be none for others, taken either in the private, or in representative Capacities.

Further

Further, there is something else in this business that was very peculiar; I know it is affirmed, That the Holy Ghost did assist in this Assembly in a special manner, and that the same Assistance and Guidance is promised to all others that convene in Christ's Name, either for the Decision of Controversies, or for Government of the Church; and that any Synod lawfully called, and proceeding lawfully, may say in their Decrees, as the Apostles, and Elders, and Church do hear, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us.*

I acknowledge them very learned and worthy Men that think so, but I must beg their Pardon if I differ from them; for, with Submission, I conceive that the Phrase [*It seemed good to the Holy Ghost*] hath no Relation to any Assistance and Guidance of the Holy Ghost that was afforded by any Extraordinary Illumination of Mind, to them that met on that occasion, and so it makes nothing for Infallible Direction in Council; Rather, it relates unto the Decision which the Holy Ghost in Effect had already made of that Controversie, by his Descending upon some of the Gentiles, who had believed in Christ as Peter preached him, without any mention of *Moses*, or of his Law, *Acts* 10. from 34. to 45. For it was the Descent of the Holy Ghost upon the believing Gentiles, who were Strangers to the Law [A Descent that was not transacted immediately by the laying on of the Hands of any Apostles, but was an Immediate Descent, such an one as that was which had been made before upon the Apostles themselves on the day of *Pentecost*,] It was this Descent that (being a sealing of them by the Holy Ghost, *Ephes.* 1. 13.) was urged by the Apostle Peter as an Argument against the Imposition of the Mosaical Yoke, which Argument was confirmed and strengthened by *Barnabas* and *Paul*, and at last by *James*, (who doth not give a Dispositive Sentence as the Translation carries it, and you somewhere say, but only gives his Judgment.) And this, in fine, did carry the matter; so that it is evident, that no Council, Synod, or Assembly of Men may say, [*It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us*] in their Decisions, as the Apostles and Elders did; and because they did, if that Council, Synod, or Assembly has not such a particular Manifestation of the Holy Ghost, to bottom their Decisions, as the Apostles and Elders had; when the Apostles and Elders said [*It seemeth good to the Holy Ghost, and to us,*] they meant, it seemed good to the Holy Ghost by his Descent, and to themselves upon full Debate.

But to return; The Church whilst it stood in its State of Separation from Secular Government, must be considered to have been in a Double Condition; the first while the Apostles were living, who as they had an Extraordinary Charge, so they had a proportionable power over all the Church; the second, after the decease or other removal of the Apostles, when the Church was left to it self: for in these different Circumstances, the proceedings were very different, both as to the punishing of Offenders, and to the ending of Controversies.

Whilst the Apostles (who had an Extraordinary and Supernatural Rod) were living, and in a Condition to use that Rod, as there needed no other Discipline but that, to terrifie flagitious and great Offenders; so I find no other used, and that too, but rarely; the greater Excommunication had no place, that I can find, (unless where *Diotrephes* ruled) in that State of the Church: Besides the Apostolical Rod, it was only Non-conversing with, or abstaining from the Society of Offenders, that was used as a Remedy for the Reducing of them; and this by Apostolical Order. Indeed, the Apostles were not so much for cutting off from the Church, as for inviting and calling Men into it: The Kingdom of Heaven is compared to a Dragnet.

But after the Decease or other removal of the Apostles, when the terrour of their Rod was vanished, and when God himself did no longer (as at first he seem'd to have done) in Extraordinary manner, particularly punish for particular Sins, as in the Case of the *Corinthians*, [For this cause many are sick and weak among you, &c.] and no Assistance could be had from the Sword of the Magistrate without Scandal; in that State, necessity grew upon the Church to make its Discipline straighter and more awful, that so, having something in it of severe and rigorous, the Terrour (of it) might restrain, and the Execution reform.

Hence came the Church-Covenant or voluntary Subjection, which (saith *Lewis Lud. Molin. du Moulin*) is intimated by *Pliny* in his Epistle to *Trajan*, in his *Sacramento obsequii* *Paræn.* *stricti*; and (says *Mr. Selden*) by *Origen contra Celsum*, when he spake of the *solidum* of the Christians. And hence, by degrees, and as occasions obliged, it came to pass, that Excommunications, the greater and the lesser, grew into use; the former not so much by a positive Institution, as by the Common Law of Society; and the latter by Congruity to the Apostles Direction, *1 Cor. 5. 11*. Both which though they carryed terrour in themselves, yet, to add, to it (as the Estimate of the Privation ever doth depend upon that of the Possession) Admission into the Church, and consequently to the Lord's Table, were practised with more Formality than in the Apostles times. Now comes in a solemn Distinction of *Chatechumens* and *Fideles*, and the Candidates of Christianity must take time before them, must *ἡγοιζέσθαι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, must pass through many Degrees before they can attain to the happiness of being admitted to a participation of the privileges and rights of the Faithful.

It was now also that the Notion of a *Catholick Unity* obtained, which was not understood at that time to be *Internal* and *Spiritual*, an Unity of Faith and Charity only. But to consist in something *External*, relating unto Order and Discipline; as being an Unity that was to be maintained by Communicatory, and other Letters, and by Orders, and (that) was intended to support the Notion of but one *Bishoprick* in the Church, and that every Bishop participated of that one *Bishoprick in Solidum*. A Notion, that was of great use to make their Discipline and Power the more pointed; for if but one Church, then to be cast out of any part of the Church, was indeed to be ejected out of the whole; and if but one *Bishoprick* to be participated by all the Bishops, what was done by one, was done by

by All; All did censure, if one did; the Expulsion made by one Bishop, out of any Church, was in effect, an Expulsion from all the Churches; and so a cutting off entirely from Christianity, and all Communion of Saints. Thus they aimed in a General Bishoprick, at what the Church of Rome doth in a personal; in affirming which I do not impose upon you; for S. Cyprian is plain, *Hoc rari unusque* (says he in his Tractate de simplicitate Praetorum) *& cae. vi. l. Cypria. ri Apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio praelati, & honoris & potestatis; sed Exordium p. l. 3. ep. ab unitate proficiscitur, ut Ecclesia una monstretur, &c. quam unitatem firmiter tenere & videri debemus, maxime Episcopi qui in Ecclesia praesidemus, ut Episcopatum, quoque ipsum unum utque Indivisum probemus.*

Thence also came the Rails about the Table, I mean, the Differences of Communion, Clerical and Laical, (to wit) to raise the Reputation and Credit of the Clergy, and withal to make their Censures the more solemn and awful; as also that the Clergy, who were obliged to a stricter and more exemplary life, if they did not live it, might have a peculiar Punishment; which was to be thrust from the Clerical Communion, and be degraded to that of the Laity. In fine, hence Publick Confessions and rigorous shaming Penances in all the Decrees of them [*Fletus, Auditio, Subtractio, Consistentia*] had their beginning; and also solemn Absolutions, by the Imposition of the Hands of the Bishop and of the Presbyters; Which things, as being only Human and Politick, tho' not unnecessary for the Time, are all of them alterable, and some actually altered.

Again, as Controversies arose in the Churches, either about Matters of Doctrine or of Discipline, the Apostles, while they lived and were in a Condition (those especially which founded such particular Churches where they arose) did take care to end such Differences, and were accordingly repaired unto for that purpose. Thus, in the Business of *Antioch*, Appeal is made unto all the Apostles, and for the *Corinthians*, *Galatians*, &c. S. Paul particularly cared.

But after the Decease of the Apostles, or a Failure of the Apostolical Infallible Guidance by other means, the Controversies that arose in any Church, became determined by the Common Counsel and Advice of other Churches, either by their Letters, or by a solemn Discussion and Debate in an Assembly of Bishops and Elders in Provincial Councils. We do not read indeed of any Rule for this Practice; but the Light of Nature or Common Reason directed it; and there was something too that did lead unto it in the first Assembly at *Jerusalem*: For as the Apostles and Elders were appealed unto by them of *Antioch*, so the whole Church was convened, and the Business considered and debated by the whole, and by the whole resolved.

In sum, the Churches of Christ in this separate State subsisted by themselves, like so many little Republicks, as being only in the World, but not of it, and therefore concerned not themselves in any Business with the Secular Powers: And yet seeing their Members were Men as well as others, and in the World as well as others, and consequently liable to Passions and Misgovernment, to Common Accidents of Providence, and to Differences too, arising in Worldly Matters, it was absolutely necessary that some Provision should be made, in all these Respects, in the Church

Church it self, by Officers on purpose, or else (since there was no other Remedy) all would run to Confusion. Hence, as the Ancient Christians had Deacons for the Poor, so they had *Wise men* (as the Apostle calls them) or Elders, who, to prevent the Scandal of their going to Law before the Heathen, determined Matters by way of Arbitration; and likewise restrained and suppressed exorbitant and evil Manners, by censuring them: Out of the Church, to provide for the Poor, to end Controversies between Man and Man, and to punish evil-doing, was the Business of the Magistrate.

And this reminds me of the Third State of the Church, when Magistrates and Powers becoming Christians, the Christian Religion was taken by them into Civil Protection, and became incorporated into the Laws, as that of *Israel* was into theirs, so that now States became Churches; a State professing Christianity being a National Church, and a National Church nothing but a Christian Nation; in a Word, a Holy Commonwealth.

Great was the Alteration that was made in the Government and Face of the Church in this Condition, from what it was before; for after the time that Emperours became Christian, and that they shewed Kindness to the Church, the Hierarchy became a Secular thing, it being in this State, that *That* and the Power of Councils attained to their full Growth; but yet, in several Countries, by several Steps and Occasions. *Lazius* in his Commentary of the *Roman Commonwealth*, *lib. 1. fol. 22.* tells us, That the Episcopal Diocesses of the Christian Religion, do, by many very great Tokens represent the *Roman* Antiquity; and well he might, for it is plain the Form of Civil Administration after the *Roman* Empire became Christian (and in some degrees before,) was imitated in the Church, and that both in the Provinces and Bounds of the Empire, and in the City it self.

For as the *Roman* Empire was divided into several Pretories, which Pretories were called *Pretorian Diocesses* or *Sees*, and these Pretories again (were) subdivided into Provinces; and that in every Pretory there was a Prefect (of the Pretory) who resided in the Metropolis, called *Sedes prima*, to administer and rule the Diocess; and under the Prefect, in the several Provinces, there were other Principal Officers, called Presidents, to rule and govern them; So in the Church there were the Metropolitan Primates, or Archbishops, who were seated in the Metropolis or Capital Cities, and answered to the Prefects of the Pretories; and there were Bishops that resided in the Inferiour Cities, who were called Suffragan Bishops, and those resembled the Presidents of the Provinces: 1, and the Parallel holds out further, since a Person (as *Joseph Scaliger* observes) might be a Bishop with Archiepiscopal Ornaments, and yet not be an Archbishop, in like manner as one might be an Officer with Consular Ornaments and yet not be a Consul. The same *Scaliger*, in his Epistles, *lib. 2. ep. 184.* also acquaints us, That, in the Time of *Constantine the Great*, there were four Prefects of Pretories, the Prefect of the Pretorium of *Constantinople*, the *Illyrian* Prefect, the Prefect of the Pretorium of *Rome*, and the Prefect of the Pretorium in the *Gallia*; Adding, that seeing the Prefect of the Pretorium was of the same Degree that at this Day a Vice-Roy is, he had under him *Vicars*, and the Vicar, he saith, was the

*Laz. com.
reip. Rom.
lib. 1. f.
141, &c.*

*Jos. Scal.
ep. l. 4.
ep. 345.*

the Governour of a Diocess, or one that had under him a whole Diocess, and a Diocess was a Government that contained under it several Metropolies or Capital Cities, as a Metropolis had under it several Cities. He further adds, That the Ecclesiastical Bishop of a Diocess, who was in the same degree with an Imperial Vicar, was called by the Greeks a Patriarch, and among the Latines was a Primate of Primates, as the Bishop of *Vienna*, who had under him two Primates, the Primate of *Aquitain* and the Primate of *Narbona*; *Igitur* (saith *Scaliger*) *eadem ordine & gradu Patriarcha, quo & Vicarius praefectus Imperatoris, uterque enim Diocessos est dicuntur, hic ἐν κρυπτοῖς, ut Canones loquuntur, ille ἐν πνευματικῶς*; And (says *Barlaam*, and indeed the whole Greek Church) the Deference and Respect that was rendered to the See of *Rome*, by the Fathers, was so, in this regard (and only in this,) because that City was the principal Seat of the Empire.

*Barlaam
de Papa
princip. c. 5.*

Mr. Thorndick, in his Book *De rat. & jure fin. contr. c. 22.* agrees in this Sentiment, and is very particular. *Regiminis forma* (saith he) *quam in Imperium à Constantino introductam diximus, in praefectorum pratorio potestate Juris dicundi supremo loco à principali, sita fuit. Nam praefecto pratorio Galliarum suberat Galliarum Vicarius, qui Treviris sedebat. Vicarius Hispaniarum, qui ut videtur Tarracone: Vicarius Britanniarum, qui Eboraci; propterea enim concilio Arelatensi primus subscribit Eboracensis, &c.* The sense of which I find in *Dr. Stillingfleet*, (now Bishop of *Worcester*) when he says, in his *Rational Account*, part 2. ch. 5. f. 394, 395. 'For our better understanding the Force and Effect of this *Nicene Canon*, we must cast our Eye a little upon the Civil Disposition of the Roman Empire by *Constantine*, then lately altered from the former Disposition of it under *Augustus* and *Adrian*. He therefore distributed the Administration of the Government of the Roman Empire under four *Praefecti Pratorio*, but for the more convenient Management of it, the whole Body of the Empire was cast into several Jurisdictions, containing many Provinces within them, which were in the Law called Diocesses, over every one of which there was appointed a Vicarius or Lieutenant, to one of the *Praefecti Pratorio*, whose Residence was in the chief City of the Diocess, where the Pretorium was, and Justice was administred to all within that Diocess, and thither Appeals were made; under these were those Pro-consuls or Correctores, who ruled in the particular Provinces, and had their Residence in the Metropolis of it, under whom were the particular Magistrates of every City: Now, according to this Disposition of the Empire, the Western Parts of it contained in it seven of these Diocesses, as, under the *Praefectus Pratorio Galliarum*, was the Diocess of *Gaul*, which contained seventeen Provinces, The Diocess of *Britain*, which contained five (afterwards but three, in *Constantine's* Time;) the Diocess of *Spain* seven. Under the *Praefectus Pratorio Italia*, was the Diocess of *Africa*, which had six Provinces; the Diocess of *Italy*, whose seat was *Milain*, seven; the Diocess of *Rome* ten. Under the *Praefectus Pratorio Illyrici*, was the Diocess of *Illyricum*, in which were seventeen Provinces. In the Eastern Division were the Diocess of *Thrace*, which had six Provinces, the Diocess of *Pontus* eleven, and so the Diocess of *Asia*, the *Oriental*, (properly so called) wherein *Antioch* was, fifteen: All which were under the *Praefectus Pratorio Orientis*. The *Aegyptian*

‘*tian* Diocess, which had six Provinces, was under the *Præfetus Augustalis*; in the time of *Theodosius the elder*: *Illyrium* was divided into two Diocesses; the *Eastern*, whose Metropolis was *Thessalonica*, and had eleven Provinces; the *Western*, whose Metropolis was *Syminum*, and had six Provinces. According to this Division of the Empire, we may better understand the Affairs and Government of the Church, which was modelled much after the same way, unless where Ancient Custom or the Emperour’s Edict did cause any variation. For as the Cities had their Bishops, so the Provinces had their Archbishops, and the Diocesses their Primates, whose Jurisdiction extended as far as the Diocess did; and as the *Conventus Juridici* were kept in the Chief City of the Diocess for Matters of Civil Judicature, so the Chief Ecclesiastical Councils for the Affairs of the Church, were to be kept there too; for which there is an express Passage in the *Codex of Theodosius*, whereby Care is taken that the same Court should be used in Ecclesiastical which was in Civil Matters; so that such things which concerned them should be heard in the Synod of the Diocess.

This Adjustment of the Church to the Civil State in those times, might happily be furthered by a Consideration, That even in the first and best there was something that resembled it; for what the Apostles *Paul* and *Barnabas* are said to do κατ’ ἐκκλησίαν, in every Church, *Titus*, when he did the same, is said to do it κατὰ πόλιν, in every City; as if to ordain Presbyters in every Church, and to do it in every City, was but one thing, and that Churches, at that Time, were only settled in Cities, and but one Church in one City; as indeed at first before the enlarging and Spreading of Christianity, it seems to have been ord narily.

But whatever induced it, it is certain that Christian Emperours and Kings (particularly the famous *Constantine* and *Charles the Great*) did out of a pious Zeal incorporate the Church into the State, strengthen it with Laws, and accomodate it and conform it; but yet so, that notwithstanding that Incorporation, the two Jurisdictions were still kept too much divided; the Church had Officers of its own linked each to other by a mutual Dependence, Courts of its own, and Councils of its own too, as well as the State.

I say too much divided, for as it is true, That the Church at first did hold its Politick Administration in some subordination unto Emperours and Kings; that these both called and directed Councils, gave Investiture to Bishops, and at last claimed Homage from them. And that Archbishops that received their Palls from the Pope, did yet receive their *Ferula*. (the Ensigns of their Jurisdiction) from the Emperours: so, tho’ this were something, it seems however to have been an Errour in the first Projectors, that they made not this Subordination and Dependence greater, since by this Omission Empires and Kingdoms were in a manner put into a State of War, by setting up in them divided separate Jurisdictions.

I acknowledg the Errour though great, and pardonable only to the Zeal and Unexperience of the Times, remained undiscovered for a while, to wit till the Church had found its own Legs; but then, changing *Tenure*, and claiming *Jure Divino*, the Hierarchy began to strike at the Heads of those who had raised and exalted it, and then Emperours and Kings themselves

See Dr. Burnet’s Abridg-ment of the Hist. of the Re-formation B. 1. f. 107. And his Hist. of the Rights of Princes Spelm Glossar. ad v. c. bonag. Vid. Albert. Crantzia. metrop. l. 1. c. 25. & 30. l. 2. c. 2. 19. & 21. l. 3. c. 1. 5. & c. Secret. schol. bish. episc. l. 1. c. 20.

themselves must be bearded, and threatned too on all Occasions with the Spiritual Sword, by Men, who, but for the Temporal, might still have lived upon Alms. In fine, the Kingdom and Priesthood every where contended for Superiority, and not a Government but had its *Guelfs*, and its *Gibellines*, and then no wonder if *Jure divino* for the most part did carry the point, especially before the Reformation. This Error was the less Excusable, because it was a departure from the great, and in truth, the only Example of a Holy Kingdom, which such pious Politicians could propose to themselves, I mean, that of the Hebrews, in which, though matters that were purely matters of Religion, were distinguished from matters purely Civil; the matters of God, from the matters of the King; yet the Jurisdictions that related to them were not Divided; the same Senate (only in distinct Capacities) as it was composed of Fathers, as well as of Priests and Levites, so it had the Cognizance of all matters; nothing distinguished the Court in respect of the Two kinds of Causes, Religious, and Secular, but that it had Two Presidents, (which possibly were to take the Chair as the nature of the Cause required,) *Amaziah* was over them in matters of the Lord, and *Zebadiah* in matters of the King, and all by an Authority and Power derived from the King as Sovereign, and Supreme in all. *Moreover in Jerusalem did Jehoshaphat set, &c.*

*Vid. Burt.
Lexia. Rab.
ad voc.
כוררין
2 Chron.
19. 8, &c.*

In truth, the Church having submitted to receive Incorporation into the Civil State, or being favoured with it, (for you may take it either way), it was no longer obliged to continue a Divided Separate Jurisdiction; for the Reason of the Churches separate Jurisdiction now failing, (the Magistrate being become Christian, and consequently Ayding,) the Jurisdiction that it had before must fall with it, and so revert to the Magistrate. And Reason good it should, and that by a reason taken even from the nature of Government; for there ought to be, and indeed there can be, but one Spring and Fountain of Jurisdiction, in one Kingdom and Government. Besides, Ecclesiastical Government cannot reach but to the External Actions of Men, and therefore is very improperly called Spiritual, since it is not Internal; and the External Actions of Men, as such, do properly come under the Cognizance of the Magistrate, [he being ordained to be the Avenger of all evil doing, as well as for the praise of them that do well;] and then nothing can remain for the Church to do, unless the same Actions must be subjected to the Cognizance of divided un subordinate Jurisdictions; which should they be, would breed a great Confusion, (which I must insist upon;) and be a great Injustice. Breed great Confusion, for that a Person in the same Cause, should be absolved by one Jurisdiction, and be condemned by another, and this without any means of Composure; for Example, that he should be acquitted at the Assizes by Twelve of the Neighbourhood, and yet be Convicted in the Bishops Court, (which may well happen where the Jurisdictions are divided, and then no means is left neither of any Composure, if they are also un subordinate,) this is Confusion: As, that he should be twice Condemned, and punish'd twice for one Fact, would be great Injustice.

*Socrat. in
Proem l. 5.
Hist. Eccl.*

As for single Congregations, they are only as so many little Fraternities, Gilds, or Corporations, and consequently may have Constitutions and By-Laws of their own, as these have, without the least danger or other prejudice that can be thought of to the States that permit, or protect them.

Certainly the Kingdom of Christ, the true Hierarchy, is a Kingdom that is not Secular, or of this World, that is, it is not an External but a Spiritual Kingdom, a Power erected in the Hearts and Consciences of Men, in which he Rules and Governs by his Word and Spirit; and therefore it doth not, it cannot as such, pretend to any Jurisdiction (properly so called), there being no Jurisdiction (properly so called) without Coercion and Compulsion, and Coercion and Compulsion is a way that is not used by Christ. All the Subjects of Christ are Volunteers and Freemen, whom as he brings into his Kingdom, so he keeps in it, only by Persuasions, Exhortations, Counsels, and such like Methods. And this *Terrullian* believed, who, in *L. ad Scap.* says, *Humani Juris & naturalis est unicuique quod putaverit colere, nec aliis aut obest aut prodest alterius religio: sed nec religionis est cogere religionem, qua Sponte suscipi debeat, non vi, &c.* 'It is the first and chief right of humane nature, for every man to worship what he thinks he ought; nor does the Religion of one, either hurt, or profit another, nor can it be any Religion to Compel Religion; Religion ought to be taken up of Choice, and not by force or constraint, &c.] So far gone was that Father for Liberty of Conscience; However, it must be confessed, That if any Persons refuse to observe the Rules of Christian Society (and particularly the Rules of that Society of which they are Members) it is but reason that they should leave it; and if otherwise they will not, that they be constrained to leave it: But this by the by.

To be sure, the Essential Church hath no one Form of External Government assigned to it in the whole; and it was as great wisdom not to settle any in particular, for National Churches: for seeing the Church must be Extended into all Nations, the Government and Policy of it must be of a nature either Ambulatory, so as to be accommodated upon Occasion, or (it must be) such an one as without interfering with them, can consist with all the several Forms of Civil and Secular Government. In my Judgment the Lord *Bacon* speaks excellently well to this matter, when he says, 'I for my part do confess, That in revolving the Scriptures, I could never find any such thing [as one Form of Discipline in all Churches, and that imposed by necessity of a Commandment and Prescript out of the Word of God,] but that God had left the like liberty to the Church-Government, as he had done to the Civil Government, to be varied according to Time, and Place, and Accidents, which nevertheless his high and Divine Providence doth order and dispose: for all Civil Governments are restrained from God to the several Grounds of Justice and Manners, but the Policies and Forms of them are left free; so that Monarchies and Kingdoms, Senates and Signories, Popular States, and Communalities are lawful, and where they are planted, ought to be maintained inviolate. So likewise in Church matters, the substance of Doctrine is immutable, and so are the General Rules of Government; but for Rites and Ceremonies, and for the particular Hierarchies, Policies, and Discipline

Discipline of Churches, they be leſſat large; and therefore it is good, we return unto the Ancient bounds of Unity, in the Church of God, which was one Faith, one Baptiſm, and not one Hierarchy, one Diſcipline; and that we obſerve the League of Chriſtians, as it is penned by our Saviour, which is in ſubſtance of Doctrin, thus: He that is not with us is againſt us; but of things indifferent, and of Circumſtance, he that is not againſt us is with us. *Bacon's Conſiderations touching Pacification, in Reſuſcit. fol. 237, 238*

This Sentiment of that Excellent Perſon will be much confirmed, if we conſider Church Policy but in one Important Inſtance, the calling of Biſhops; for this as it has received frequent Alteration, and been very different in different times and Countries, ſo it was All upon prudential regards: In *Cyprian's* time, as in that of the Apoſtles, it was as it were *Juſſu populi, Authoritate Senatus*; by Choice of the People, and appointment of other Biſhops; How it is now, All know; and in the intermediate times it has not always been after one manner but various, according unto various times and occaſions.

In ſhort, the buſineſs of Paſtors and Teachers, who are permanent and ſtanding Officers in the Church of Chriſt, is to feed the Flock, by preaching and adminiſtring the Sacraments, and, on occaſion, to denounce Eternal Torments (the true Spiritual Censure;) And this will be their buſineſs to the Worlds end: But for External Rule and Jurisdiction, this being but accidental to their Office, and ariſing only from the particular Circumſtance in which the Church was, while ſeparate from the State, now that the Magiſtrate is Chriſtian, it doth entirely devolve upon him; the Chriſtian Magiſtrate is the Ruling Preſbyter, and whom he appoints as Overſeers of the Poor, may be called the Deacons.

It is certain, that in our Engliſh Conſtitution, (not to ſpeak of the French, and that of other Foreign Kingdoms,) however ſome may talk of *Jure divino*, all Government or Jurisdiction, the Spiritual (as they call it,) as well as the Temporal, is derived from the King; who, in this ſenſe, is ſupream Ordinary, Biſhop, and Governour, in all Cauſes, and therefore in all Courts and Jurifdictions. This is evident both as to the Legiſlative part of the Government, and to the ſtrictly Jurifdictive; for, as my Author tells me, out of the Britiſh Councils, All the Church-Laws in the time of the Saxons were made in the *Micklemore*: And indeed it were eaſie to evince, that moſt of the Ancient Synods and Councils in England, as well as in other Countries, were meer Parliaments. As for the Conſiſtory Court, which every Archbiſhop and the Biſhop of the Dioceſs hath, as holden before his Chancellor or Commiſſary, this ſeems not to have been divided from the Hundred or County Court, before a Mandate was given to that purpoſe by *William the Conqueror*, the Exemplification of which Mandate is in Mr. *Dugdale's* *Appendix ad Hiſt. Eccleſ. Cathol. St. Pauli*, f. 196. Before the Normans entrance, ſays Mr. *Dugdale*, from Sir *H. Spelman*, the Biſhops ſate in the Hundred Court with the Lord of the Hundred, as he did in the County Court with the Earls, in the Sheriffs Turn, with the Sheriff.

Nath. Bacon, Hiſtor. Diſcourſ. Part. 1. 6. 1.

See *Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwick ſhire in the Preface.*

But to set out the matter by more Authentick Records; In the Statute of Provisors it is affirmed, ' That the Church of England was founded in the State of Prelacy by Edward the First, (Grand-father to Edward the Third) and his Progenitors. And in 25th of Henry the Eighth, Chap. 19. in the Submission of the Clergy, *these acknowledge*, (as they say) *according to Truth*, ' That the Convocation of the same Clergy is, always hath been, and ought to be Asssembled, only by the King's Writ, and farther promise in Verbo Sacerdotis, that they will never from henceforth presume to attempt, alledge, claim or put in ure, enact, promulge, or exact any new Canons, Constitutions, Ordinances, Provincial, or other, or by whatsoever name they shall be called in the Convocation, unless the King's most Royal Assent and Licence may to them be had, to make, promulge, and exact the same, and that his Majesty do give his most Royal Assent and Authority in that behalf. *And it was then enacted*, That the King should at his pleasure assign and nominate 32 Persons of his Subjects, whereof 16 to be of the Clergy, and 16 of the Temporality, of the upper and lower House of Parliament, who should have Power and Authority to view, search and examine the Canons, Constitutions and Ordinances Provincial and Synodal heretofore made, and with his Majesty's Assent under his Great Seal, to continue such as they judge worthy to be kept, and to abolish, and abrogate the residue, which they shall Judge and Deem worthy to be abolished. *It was also provided in the same Act*, That no Canons, Constitutions, or Ordinances shall be made or put in Execution within this Realm by Authority of the Convocation of the Clergy, which shall be contrary to the King's Prerogative Royal, or to the Customs, Laws or Statutes of this Realm; [there the Ecclesiastical Legislation is subjected to the King.] *And enacted*, ' That it shall be lawful for any Party grieved in any of the Courts of the Archbishops, of this Realm to appeal to the King's Majesty in the Court of Chancery, upon which Appeal a Commission is to be directed under the Great Seal, to Persons named by the King, his Heirs or Successors, which Commissioners have full power to hear, and finally determine upon such Appeal; [And here the Jurisdiction of the Church is acknowledged to be originally in the King, and derived from him; for there the Sovereign Supream Power lodges, where the last appeal, the last Resort is.]

Add, that in the first Year of Edward VI. in an Act entituled An Act for Election of Bishops, *it was enacted*, ' That none but the King by his Letters Patents shall collate to any Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick. *It was also declared*, That the use of Archbishops, and Bishops, and other Spiritual Persons to make, and send out Summons in their own names, was contrary to the form, and order of the Summons and Process of the Common Law used in this Realm, seeing that All Authority of Jurisdiction, Spiritual and Temporal, is derived, and deducted from the King's Majesty, as Supream Head of these Churches and Realms of England and Ireland, and so Justly acknowledged by the Clergy of the said Realms. *It was therefore enacted*, ' That all Courts Ecclesiastical, within the said Two Realms, be kept by no other Power or Authority either Foreign, or within this Realm, but by the Authority of the King's Majesty, and that all Summons and Citations,

‘ Citations, and other Process Ecclesiastical be made in the name, and with the
‘ Style of the King, as it is in his Writs Original and Judicial at the Common
‘ Law. And it is further enacted, ‘ That all manner of Persons that have the Ex-
‘ercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, shall have the King’s Arms in their Seals of
‘ Office, &c.

This Act was passed in a Parliament of the Profession of the Church of *England* in 1 *Edward 6th.* and though it were repealed by one of another Character in 1 *Maria*; yet this repealing Statute being again repealed in 1st of *James 1.* 25. it seems plain that that of the first Year of *Edward the Sixth* is revived: But supposing it is not; yet, in that case, though, the Constitutive part remain void, the Declarative will still stand good, as shewing the Common Law. Nor doth the late Act of 13 *Car. 2. ch. 12.* that restored the Bishops only to their ordinary and lawful Jurisdiction, Invest them in any new, or any that is unlawful at the Common Law, or that is contrary to the Prerogative of our Kings.

All that I have said on this Occasion might receive a further Confirmation (were there need of more) by the famed Character of King *Kenulphus* made to the Abbot of *Abington*, in which was a grant of Exemption from Episcopal Jurisdiction; as there also was in that of King *Offa* made to the Monastery of *S Albans*; by the Title of King *Edgar*, who stiled himself Vicar of God in Ecclesiasticals, by the Offering that *Wolstan* made of his Staff and Ring (the Ensigns of his Episcopacy) at the Tomb of *Edward the Confessor*; by the Petition of the Archbishop and Clergy at the Coronation of our Kings; by the form of the King’s Writ for Summoning a Convocation, and of the Royal Licence that is commonly granted before the Clergy and Convocation can go upon any particular Debates. In fine, by the Statutes relating to Excommunication, that do both direct and limit the Execution of that Censure, and the proceedings upon it, as to *Capias’s*, &c.

And thus much for Church-Government, in the Third State of the Church, as it is become incorporated by Civil Powers: In discoursing of which I have made it plain, That as no National Draught is of our Lord Christ’s, or his Apostles designing; so that National Churches are all of Human Institution, and their Government Ambulatory, that is, Alterable according as Times and Occasions, and as the Forms of Civil Governments in States, that do incorporate the Church, oblige it to be, to make it fit and suitable. I am,

S I R,

Your Humble Servant.

T H E

THE THIRD LETTER.

S I R,

I Have always acknowledged some Episcopacy to be of Primitive Antiquity; but you will please to remember, I have likewise shewed, that that Episcopacy was Presbyterial not Prelatical; Congregational not Diocesan; And that the Primitive Bishop was only a first Presbyter, that is, a Chairman in the College of Presbyters, and not (as in the Diocesan Hierarchy,) a Prelate of a superior Order that presided over several Congregational Churches, and was invested with the Power of sole Ordination and Jurisdiction; much less was he an Officer that kept Courts, that had under him Chancellours, Commissaries, Officials, Registers, Apparitors, &c. and that judged [*per se aut per alium*] in certain reserved Cases.

To make this out, I presented to you a Scheme of the Government of the Church, both as it was established and settled by the Apostles, and as it was afterwards: I shewed, That the Apostles in all their Institutions did carefully avoid any Imitation of the Temple-Orders, to which Orders the Prelatical Hierarchy doth plainly conform. I shewed also, That the Government settled by the Apostles was only Congregational, the Apostles in planting of Churches proceeding only after the Model and Way of the Synagogues. Ay! all the Churches that we read of in Scripture, that were constituted by the Apostles, were only Congregational, not National or Provincial; that is, they were as so many little Republicks, each consisting of a Senate or Eldership, with the Authority, and of a People with the Power; but all independant one of another, and all possessed of all that Jurisdiction and Authority over their Members, that was to be standing and ordinary. For this Reason, tho' every Congregation was but a part, and a small one, yet it had the Denomination of the whole, every particular Congregation was stiled a Church.

This will appear more evident, if we consider, That the Interest of the People had

had at first, and long after, (for above 150 Years) in the Ordination of Officers, was very great. It is true, the Word [Ordination] or that which answers to it in the *Greek*, is never used throughout the whole *New Testament*, for the making of Evangelical Officers, nor did it, in this Sense, come into use among Christians till after the Christian Church began to accommodate to the Language, as well as to the Orders of the Jewish. But then, as the People was called *Laity* and *Plebs*, so the Clergy was called *Ordo*, and this in the same Sense of the Word, as when we read of the Order of *Aaron*, and of that of *Melchisedeck*; and then too, the calling of any Person to the Ministry, as it was a calling of him to be of the Clergy or Order, so it was stiled an Ordination, Ordination being nothing but the placing of a Person in the Order of the Clergy.

But tho' the Word [Ordination] was not as yet in use, in the first Times, the Thing was, which is the Creation of Officers in the Church; and in this the People possess'd so great a share (which is a very good Argument of the Church's being framed at first after the Model and Way of Republicks) that even the Action it self is called *Chirotonia* by *S. Luke* in the *Acts of the Apostles*, and ever since by the *Greek Fathers*. Ay, the Creation of Officers is not usually called *Chirothesia*; for this with the Greek Fathers was the Word that was mostly, if not always, used for Confirmation, not for Ordination, tho' Imposition of Hands, the Ceremony signified by that Word, was the Rite which was used by the Jews in creating of Rabbies and Doctors: the Act of Ordination is usually, if not always denominated *Chirotonia*, or Extension of Hands, which, in the Greek Republicks, was the Name or Word for the Popular Suffrage.

Indeed *Paul* and *Barnabas* are said to *Chirotonize*, or, as our Translators render the Word, *Acts* 14. 23. *To ordain them Elders in every Church*. But (says Mr. *Harrington*) they are said to do so, but in the same Sense that the *Proedri*, who were Magistrates, to whom it belonged to put the Question in the Representative of the People of *Athens*, are, in *Demosthenes*, said *διὰ χειροτονίαν ποιεῖν*, to make the Suffrage; and the *Thesmothetae*, who were Presidents in the Creation of Magistrates, are in *Pollux* said *σεαυτῶν χειροτονεῖν*, to chirotonize the *Strategi*, who yet, ever since the Institution of *Clisthenes*, that distributed the People into ten Tribes, were always used to be elected and made by the Popular Suffrage.

*vb. Emm. in
descr. reip.
Athen.
Plut. in
vit. Phoc.*

Nor was this manner of Speaking peculiar unto the Greeks, but, as *Calvin*, in his *Institutions* l. 4. c. 4. f. 15. observes, it was a common Form used also by the Roman Historians, who say, That the Consul created Officers, when he only presided at the Election, and gathered the Votes [of the People.] *Et c'est uniforme commune de parler: comme les Historiens disent qu'un Consul creoit des Officiers, quand il recevoit le voix du peuple, & presidoit sur l' Election.*

So plain it is that *S. Luke*, in saying that *Paul* and *Barnabas* did chirotonize the Elders, intended to signifie no more, but that the Elders were made by the Suffrage of the People, *Paul* and *Barnabas* presiding at the Election, and declaring or making the *Crisis*: and so the New Latin Translation in *Beza* and *Piscator* renders the Text, *Quumque ipsi per suffragia creassent, &c.*

I know that some have told us, That *Iosephus* uses the Word with reference

M

unto

unto God, he saying, that God did chirotonize Aaron thrice, and therefore to chirotonize is not always to be taken for the Popular Suffrage; Nor is chirotonizing always taken so. But supposing that the Word [Chirotonize] was used by Josephus, as afterwards it came to be by others, in a second Sense, for any Creation of Officers in general, yet in the primary and proper use it signifies the Popular Suffrage; for Chirotonia in Suidas is πάντων ἐγλογὴ, κύρωσις Election, Ratification made by All. And this also was the common Use of the Word at that time when, and in the Places (most of them Republicks) where the Apostles are said to chirotonize: And certainly no Man can imagine with Reason, That the making of Elders in its first Institution should be called Chirotonia, and bear the Name of the Suffrage of the People, especially in that time, and in such places, had these Elders been made in any other manner than by the popular Suffrage; for then the name of the Action would have been distinctive or proper, as all Original Names of things are used to be.

Besides, what if it should be said, (as indeed it is by Mr. Harrington) that when the Congregation or People of Israel, upon the several miraculous Appearances in favour of Aaron, did recognize him again and again for High Priest, this Chirotonia of the People was the Chirotonia of God? Why might not God as President of the Congregation in that Theocracy, as well be said (as he is by Josephus) to chirotonize when the People did, as the Proedri who presided in the Assembly of the People at Athens, be said, by Demosthenes to make the Diachirotonia; the Thesmoetheta by Pollux, to Chirotonize the Strategi; and the Consul who presided at the Election of Officers at Rome, be said by the Roman Historians, to create these Officers?

As for the Diachirotonia, tho' you think it the Act only of the Magistrates, not of the People, because Hesychius says, διαχίροτονία ἐστὶ δίδωσις ἢ χίροτονία, you will give me leave to acquaint you, that the Diachirotonia was as much the Act of the People, or of those suffrage; as the Chirotonia it self (was.) For those that suffraged or made the Chirotonia, are said, in cases of competition, to Diachirotonize, because then, by their Suffrages, they did distinguish one of the Competitors from the other, and he of the Competitors that was distinguished to his Advantage, as carrying the Office by most Voices, was said to be Diachirotonized; and a Declaration was made, That he was elected, which Declaration was called Crisis. All this is evident from Plato, who treating (l. 6. de leg.) concerning the Election of the Strategi, in case of Competition, says, ὁποῦτος δ' ἂν δόξῃ διαχίροτοννεν, ἐς τὴν κρίσιν ἐγχεσθῆναι. whoever appears to be Diachirotonized, [or to have most Voices] he is declared [let the Crisis be] that he is elected. Here he distinguishes very plainly between the Diachirotonia, which he attributes to those that suffraged, and the Crisis or declarative Judgment, which was the Act of those that presided: But he does it afterward more plainly, when ordaining that the same Rule that was observed in the making of the Strategi, should be also observed in that of the Taxiarchi, he says, Let the same be observed both as to the Epichirotonia and the Crisis; that is, as to the Suffrage and to the Resolve: So that Hesychius his δίδωσις χίροτονίας, must be interpreted a Discrimination, or preference made by Suffrage.

As for the Jurisdiction of the Apostles, I make no doubt but that the Apostles, who were *Elders* as well as Apostles, 2 *Pet.* 5. 1. acted in settled Congregations, where any of them happen'd to be or to reside, with the Elders of such Congregations, in that Capacity of Elders; but as this Authority was not properly or purely Apostolical, so that which was, both that I call the Essential, that was incident to the Apostles, as they founded the Church, and the Accidental, that was incident to them, as they founded particular Churches, was Extraordinary and peculiar, as being only for that emergent Occasion, and not for Continuance. To speak generally, governing the Churches was as much an ordinary Work as preaching, and was common to all the Elders, whether Apostles or not; but to do it in such a particular manner, with such a Rod, and with so large a Superintendence, as, in some cases, the Apostles did, was extraordinary and peculiar to them. No Officers that are now can pretend to a Rod like that of the Apostles, *Acts* 5. 3, 4, 5, &c. 1 *Cor.* 4. 21: and therefore none that are now can exercise such a Discipline as they did. Those that will truly evidence that the Prelatical Hierarchy is Apostolical, ought to demonstrate, that besides the Officers settled in all particular Churches, to feed and govern them, the Apostles and Evangelists settled others, as a kind of Visitors General, over all, or over many Churches together, with the same Authority that themselves had exercised, and this for continuance; without this nothing is done to any purpose.

As for the Transaction 1 *Cor.* 5. I am still of the mind it was wholly extraordinary, and that it cannot be drawn into Example. The Apostle says, *When you are gathered together, and my Spirit, οὐ μετὰ τὴν δύναμιν, [not with the Authority, but] with the (mighty) power of the Lord Christ, [to the end] to deliver such an one unto Satan.* Whence it follows very clearly, That without the Apostles Spirit, and the mighty Power of Christ, the Corinthians were unable to deliver that Incestuous to Satan; for else I see no Reason why they should have the *Conjunction* and Assistance of these, [the Apostles Spirit and Christ's Power] for that end, since then there would be no need of it. And if they could not deliver the Incestuous to Satan without the Assistance of the Apostolical Spirit, and the mighty Power of Christ, it also follows, that to deliver to Satan, was not merely to excommunicate, eject or suspend him, since this was so much in their own Power, that they might have done it of themselves, without such Extraordinary and Miraculous Aids. To be sure, this Effect, whatever it was, if it bore (as every Effect must do) proportion unto its cause, it must be something that was Extraordinary; for it came not only from the Spirit of the Apostle, but also from the Miraculous Power of Christ, for such a Power that is, which *δύναμις* signifies, as is evident, *Acts* 1. 8.

'Tis true, you infer from 1 *Cor.* 5. 2. That the Corinthians could not put away the Incestuous without a new Commission from the Apostle, who was their Bishop, and consequently you understand the Power was given to them, only of a Commission or Authority. But on the contrary, the Word used for Power is (as I have said before) *δύναμις* (not ἐξουσία,) a Word that commonly signifies Strength, not Authority. Besides, if this putting away v. 2. must be understood (as certainly it must) of the same putting away with that v. 13. nothing can be plainer.

plainer than that it was a Censure the People could and ought to have made of themselves, without expecting any new Commission; as being in a matter that by the Apostles own Concession, they had a proper Cognisance of, and over a Person too, whose competent Judges they were; as the same Apostle tells them, *Do not you judge them that are within, therefore put away, &c.* putting away is grounded on the Peoples Judgment, but delivery unto Satan upon the Apostles. And yet however putting away may well be called an *averting* or Rebuke, and be a kind of Punishment; for to be excluded from the Common Society and Conversation of the Faithful, cannot deserve a milder Expression.

You still insist, That there is and ought to be a Disparity of Ministers, because there was a Disparity between the 12 Apostles and the 70 Disciples, and with *Blundel* think, that the 70 continued in the same Office after the Ascension of our Lord, that they had before; for you say, 'You cannot believe they withdrew their Hands from the Plow, or that our Saviour deposed them from their Office, or depressed them into the Rank of private Men. But tho' you do not believe (as I know no need you should) that the 70 withdrew their Hands from the Plow, or that our Saviour deposed them from their Office, or depressed them into the Rank of private Men, yet, if their Office was only occasional, that is, if they were sent by our Saviour to the House of Israel, as Messengers upon some particular Occasions, and about a particular Business; then their Office ceased of Course at their Return, like that of a Prince's Envoy, whose Office ends with his Business, that is, as soon as his Message is done, and he returned with the Account of it. I know of no Jurisdiction the 12 Apostles had over the 70, but am sure, the Office and Work of the 70 (whatever it was) related but to the Jews, as being a Business only for that Time, a Time that was the *Crepusculum* or Twi-light between the Law and Gospel, Judaism and Christianity, while as yet the Kingdom of Heaven was only at hand, but not come, *Luke* 10. 9. I add, That the Office of the 70 is not reckoned in the number of the Ascension Gifts, *Eph.* 4. 11. And, which is more, that the Apostles themselves, had they not received another, a new Commission after the Resurrection of Christ, they, by their former old one (which confirmed them unto *Judea*, as that of the 70 also did them, and which was only for a preliminary Work, *Matth.* 10. 7. as that of the 70 also was,) could not have had an Authority to preach the Gospel unto the Gentiles, and so to lay the Foundation of the Catholick Church. And therefore the first Commission as it was limited, so it was Temporary, and expired (at furthest) when a second was given them, *Matth.* 28, 18, 19. *Acts* 1. 8. Not but that the 70 as well as the 12 had Business in the Kingdom of Heaven, or the Evangelical State; but they had it not under the Denomination of the 70, or in virtue of their first Commission or Mission, but only as they came to be Officers in this Kingdom, by being constituted Evangelists, or Prophets, or Pastors and Teachers, or Deacons, &c.

You offer again in Confirmation of your Notion of the Apostleship of Bishops, that *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Angels of the Churches in the *Revelation* were Bishops, constituted by the Apostles with the same Authority themselves had; and that the Twelve Apostles and *Paul* were not all the Apostles that the Scripture speaks

speaks of, for *Barnabas* and others were Apostles too as well as they.] I acknowledge *Barnabas* to be an Apostle, but I cannot acknowledge that he was an Apostle of the same Rank with the Twelve, and *Paul*; for as *Paul* himself distinguishes, *Gal. 1. 1.* All Apostles were not of the same Rank, but some were in the first, some in the second Order; that is, some were Apostles sent immediately by Christ himself, and so were Legates *à latere*, and some were sent, not immediately by Christ himself, but by Men. Now *Paul* insists, That himself was an Apostle of the first Order, and in the same Rank with the Twelve, *Gal. 1. 17.* whereas it is plain, that *Barnabas* and all the others who are called Apostles, can pretend to be but of the second; they being sent, not immediately by Christ himself, as those of the first were, but only by Man; either by the Apostles that were of the first Order, as *Timothy* and *Titus* by *Paul*, or by some Church, as *Barnabas*, *Acts 11. 22.* for here the Church is said to send forth *Barnabas* as their Apostle; and not barely to *dismiss* him, as the word Imports that is used, *Acts 13. 3.*

Apostles of the second Order are called also Evangelists, and it was their business to be Assistant unto those of the first, if not always to their Persons, yet, at least, to their Work, which was to plant Churches, by making of Conversions, and setting Orders: And of this sort of Apostles I again acknowledge *Timothy* and *Titus* to have been.

I proved in my former Paper, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists; but it seems, the Argument I used loses all its force with you, because its strength, like that of the Arch-work, lies in the Combination and Concurrence, and you consider it only in pieces; not as a whole, and all its parts together and United, but only separately, and part by part.

As for *Timothy*, methinks we do too often find him with *S. Paul* in his Perambulations, to have any reason to conceive that he was resident Bishop of *Ephesus*; and for *Titus*, his Diocess seems too large for any ordinary Bishop. *Crete* is famed to have had an hundred Cities in old time, and *Pliny* assures us, (*L. 4. c. 12.*) that in *his* there were forty, which were enough for so many Bishopricks. *Titus* had it in Charge, *Tit. 1. 5.* to ordain Elders in every City, and to ordain Elders in every City, was to settle a Church in every City; so that if every Church must have a Bishop (as some are confident it must,) then every City in *Crete* that had a Church, had also a Bishop, and so possibly there were as many Bishops and Bishopricks in *Crete*, as there were Cities. This Consideration, if well weighed, will much abate of the Authority of the Postscript of the Epistle to *Titus*, in which this Evangelist is stiled the Ordained Bishop in the Church of the *Cretians*; for according to the Language of that time, had *Titus* been indeed the Bishop of that whole Island, he ought to have been stiled Bishop of the Churches (and not of the Church) of the *Cretians*. But it seems it is taken for granted, that a Bishop must have but one Church, and therefore, that *Titus* may be a Bishop of the *Cretians*, all the Churches of *Crete* must be Consolitated into one; else among all the Churches in *Crete*, I would fain know, which was the Church of the *Cretians*, where *Titus* resided. If *Titus* was Bishop over all the Churches in *Crete*, he was a Bishop of Bishops, and at least a Metropolitan, which indeed would be most in favour of the Hierarchy, could it be Evidenced. But this could

not be the settlement that was made in *Crete*. For it would be strange, that the Apostle should appoint a Hierarchy in *Crete*, that should differ from the form of Government settled upon the Continent by himself and *Barnabas*, who constituted Elders in every Church, without appointing (that we read) of any Superiour Bishop or Metropolitan that should have a General Care and Inspection over the several Churches. For my part, I could not see how *Titus* should understand his Commission, which was to ordain Elders in every City, to carry any other Intention with reference to *Crete*, than the very same words do, when they are used to signifie what *Paul* himself, who gave him this Commission, had done upon the Continent, where he and *Barnabas* ordained Elders in every Church. And therefore as *Paul* and *Barnabas* established single Congregations only, and Organized them with Elders, and then left them to govern themselves by their own Intrinsic powers; So in the like manner, *Titus* established Churches in every City, and Organized them with Elders, which having done, it is very probable that he returned again unto *S. Paul*, to give an account of his Commission. Thus *Titus* his business in *Crete*, has the very Idea and Signature of that of an Evangelist, or a Secondary Apostle, without the least Mark of an ordinary Bishop; nor is there any hint in all the Authentick Scriptures, of his being ordained Bishop of *Crete*, or indeed of any place else. And the like must be said of *Timothy*, with reference to *Ephesus*, who was sent to the Church there as a Visitor only, with Apostolical Authority, and so as *S. Paul's* Delegate. Nor is *Titus* his ordaining of Elders, a good Argument for sole Ordination; for the word, *Tit. i. 5.* is the same that is used in *Acts 6. 3.* in the matter of the Deacons, who were appointed by the Apostles (not one of the Apostles, but all) and chosen by the People. And one might well admire that the same word which is Translated [appointed] in one place, should be rendred [ordained] in another, but that *Titus* is said to ordain, and not to appoint only, that it might look as if there were a plain Text for sole Ordination.

But what if *Timothy* and *Titus* had a power of sole Jurisdiction? and a power too of making Canons, for the Government of the Church? (which latter yet is an Authority that every Bishop will not pretend unto, after their Example.) The Church then, was in a State of Separation from Secular Government, and among Heathen, just as the Jews are now, among Christians; so that all it could do at that time, was to perswade; it could not compel: And therefore it will not follow now that the Church is protected, and not only protected by, but Incorporated into, the State, that the Officers of it must have the same powers, and Exercise them in the same manner, as before, or (as *Mr. Selden* expresses it) 'That *England* must be Governed as *Ephesus* or *Crete*. It is certain that Kings would gain but little by the Bargain, not to say, they must depart with their Sovereignty to Incorporate the Christian Religion; should this be admitted, that Church-Authority, Church-Power must be still the same after such Incorporation, as before. For a separate National Jurisdiction Exercised by one or many, is a Solecism in State, especially if it claim by the Title of *Jure divino*, a Title that renders it Independent upon, as well as unboundable and uncontrollable by all that is human. Such a Jurisdiction would weaken that of Kings; and other States.

All

All their Subjects would be but half Subjects, and many none at all ; and it is no more nor less but that very same thing, that heretofore was found so inconvenient and burdensome under the Papacy, and that made the best and wisest, and greatest of our Kings so uneasy. A Clergy imbodyed within it self, and independent on the State, is in a Condition of being made a powerful Faction upon any Occasion, and easie to be practised upon, as being united under one, or a few Heads, who can presently convey the Malignity to all their Subordinates, and these to the People. So that I lay it down as a Maxim, that nothing can be of greater danger to any Government than a National Hierarchy, that does not depend upon it, or is not in the Measures and Interests of it. Fresh Experience has learned us this.

I know not with what Design it was said by *Padre Paulo Sarpio of Venice*, but his Words are very remarkable, as I find them cited from an Epistle of his to a Counsellor of *Paris*, in the Year 1609. [' I am afraid (says he) in the behalf of the English, of that great power of Bishops, though under a King. I have ' it in Suspicion when they shall meet with a King of that goodness, as they will ' think it easie to work upon him, or shall have any Archbishop of an high Spirit, ' the Royal Authority shall be wounded, and Bishops will aspire to an Absolute ' Domination. Methinks I see a Horse Sadled in *England*, and I guess that the ' old Rider will get on his Back : But all these things depend on the Divine Providence.] Thus he, very prudently as to the main, though perhaps with some mistake as to his Conjecture.

For my part, I think it but reason that such Persons as have the Benefit of Human Laws, should in so much be guided by them ; and that the Sword which owns no other Edge but what the Magistrate gives it, should not be used but by his Direction ; As indeed the practice in *England* has always been. For as Mr. *Selden* observes, ' Whatever Bishops do otherwise than the Law permits, *Westminster-Hall* can controul, or send them to absolve, &c. He also says very well, ' That nothing has lost the Pope so much in his Supremacy, as not acknowledging what Princes gave him ; 'tis a scorn (says he) on the Civil Power, and an unthankfulness in the Priest. But, adds he, the Church runs to *Jure divino*, lest if these should acknowledge what they have by positive Laws, it might be as well taken from them, as given to them.] Ay, *This excellent Person goes further, so much further as to tell us, ' That a Bishop, as a Bishop had never any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction [in England] ; for as soon as he was Electus Confirmatus, that is, after the Three Proclamations in Bow-Church, he might Exercise Jurisdiction before he was Consecrated, and yet till then [that he was Consecrated] he was no Bishop, neither could he give Orders. Besides, says he, Suffragans were Bishops, and they never claimed any Jurisdiction.]*

As for the Angels in the *Revelation*, I see no Evidence in what is said (tho' much is said) to prove them to have been Diocesans. It will not follow they were single persons, because they are called *Ἀστέρες* not *Ἀστροι*, as who would say they are compared to Stars, and not to Constellations ; for the Truth is, both these Words are used promiscuously, as well for the Constellations as for the single Stars, so that no stress is to be laid upon the Word that is used, for either side. Besides, some are of the Opinion, That to the making of it clear that these Angels were only

only single Persons, and for that cause compared but to single Stars, and not to Constellations, sufficient Reason ought to be given why the Holy Ghost, who expressly limits the Number of the Churches, doth not in like manner limit the Number of the Angels belonging to them: For, say they, when the Holy Ghost said, *The seven Candlesticks are the seven Churches*, had he intended to signify that the Angels were but seven, as the Churches were, he would in like manner have said, *the seven Stars are the seven Angels of those seven Churches*. But as I am not satisfied that any great Stress should be laid, in things of Moment, upon such Critical Nicities, so, should I yield, without granting that these Angels were Stars or single Persons, yet I should also think it but equal to demand, What Reason there is to perswade, that these Stars were other than the seven President Presbyters, who were Chair-men in the several Presbyteries of these seven Churches? Which Churches I take to be single Congregations. For I see as yet no Reason, but that as a Letter intended for the Honourable House of Commons, may be directed to the Speaker, so these Epistles intended for the seven Churches (for that they were, *Rev. 2. 7, 11, 17, &c.*) might be superscribed [for the Chief Pastor or President Presbyter] who probably at that Time was stiled the Bishop, by way of Appropriation.

In fine, what if by the Name of Angel, an Angel properly so called should be understood? And that the Epistles intended for the Churches [Pastors and People,] were sent to them under the Name of their Guardian Angels? Should this be so, then farewell to any Ground for Diocesan Bishops in the Directions of the Epistles to the Angels. And that it should be so is very agreeable to the Prophetical Spirit in the *Revelation*: For the *Revelation* goes much upon the *Hypothesis* and Language of *Daniel*, and in *Daniel* we read of the Guardian Angels of Nations, and in such a manner, that what refers to the Nations, or to their Governours, is said of the Angels themselves, *Dan. 10. 13, 20, 21*. Which is further confirmed, in that it seems to have been an *Hypothesis*, obtaining in the first Age of Christianity, that the several Churches or Assemblies of Christians had their Guardian Angels; for it is very probable that in Relation and Aspect unto this *Hypothesis*, the Apostle Paul does tell Women, *1 Cor. 11. 10. That they ought to have power over their heads, because of the ANGELS*; the Expression seems to imply, That there were Angels, *Guardians* of the Assemblies; who observed the Demeanour of All, and therefore they ought to be Circumspect, Modest and Decent in their Behaviour and in their Fashions and Garbs, out of Respect to those Guardians.

And indeed the former Account of the Title of Angels, is a more agreeable and easie one than that which some others give, who by Angel understanding a Bishop in the Modern Sense of that Word, believe the Denomination given with reference to a Practice among the Jews, who (they say, as from *Diodorus*) attributed to their High Priest the Title of Angel. But should it be yielded that the Jews had any such Practice [to attribute the Title of Angel to their High Priest] what could this amount unto in our Case, since every Bishop is not an High Priest, in the Sense of the Jews? For in their Sense there could be but one, and then, that one among Christians must be a Pope, or a Sovereign Bishop over all the Bishops; as, among the Jews, the High Priest was over all the Priests. But

in reality the Jews had no such Practice, nor does the alledged *Diodorus* say they had, [to call their High Priest Angel] they called him High Priest [ἱερεὺς ἀγγελία,] that was his name; but indeed, he adds, That they had a Belief of him, That he was (often) made a Messenger or Angel of God, [ἐξουσίαν ἄγγελον ἔλασθαι,] as really he was, when he had the Urim on him; and this is all that *Diodorus* affirms.

Your other Argument (for Diocesan Episcopacy,) which you ground upon the Traditional Succession of Bishops in several Sees, down from the Times of the Apostles, and in the *Seas* of the Apostles, has no more of cogency in it than the former. I know *Tertullian* l. de præscrip. adv. Haereticos, says, *Præcurre Ecclesias Apostolicas apud quas ipsa adens Cathedra Apostolorum suis locis præsentatur*, &c. And I acknowledg, the Apostles may well enough be said to have sat in Chairs, and others to succeed in them, if the Chairs be understood of Chairs of Doctrine, in the same Sense in which the Scribes and Pharisees are said to sit in *Moses's*; for in this Sense, All those Churches were Apostolical, and had Apostolical Succession, which being founded upon the Doctrine of the Apostles, had such persons only in any Authority over them, as did continue therein. But else, I cannot believe my self obliged to assent that the Apostles had Chairs in Particular Churches, tho' *Tertullian's* Words at first Sight may seem to sound that way, than to believe the Story of the Cells of the 70 Translators; a Story that *S. Hierom* not only confutes but Ridicules, tho' it has this to be said for it, That *Justin Martyr* affirms he saw the Ruins of those very Cells, and that they were in the *Pharos of Alexandri*, *Tertullian* flourished but in the beginning of the third Century, by which Time many Fob Traditions past Current; of which Truth too many Instances are obvious in the Writings of that Father, as well as of other Fathers. Indeed *Eusebius* has given us Catalogues of the Succession of Bishops in several Churches, but these Catalogues are only Conjectural and Traditionary. Himself, in the Proem of his Ecclesiastical History, tells us of a great Chasm that was in that kind of History for the three first Centuries, and that being alone and solitary in this kind of Performance, he had nothing but Fragments here and there to help him, from any of those who preceeded (him.) Ay, in the third Book of that History, Chap. 4. he says expressly, as to the Persons that succeeded the Apostles in the Government of the Churches, that it is hard to tell particularly and by name, who they were [*quorum nomina non est facile explicare per singulos.*] And that in making his Catalogues he went by way of Collection and Inference, from what is written by *S. Paul*; [*Ex Apostoli tamen Pauli sermonibus colligere possumus, &c.*] so that the Catalogues of Bishops deduced from the Apostles, for ought I see, deserve but little more of Credit, as being but little better ascertained than the Catalogue of the British Kings, deduced from Brute.

In truth, the Task is a little uneasy to make it clear, That the Apostles were properly Bishops, in the Modern Sense of the Word, and that they had fixed Seats, which yet is the Basis upon which such Catalogues must stand; sure I am, *Athanasius* in his Comment upon the Epistle to the Romans, ad c. 2. v. 1. affirms their Office to have been to go up and down and preach, *circumvagari* (as his Translator renders him) & *Evangelium prædicare*; so that in the Judgment of this

so celebrated a Father, the Apostles (as such) were but Itinerant Preachers, a sort of Officers that were unfixed.

As for *Epaphroditus*, I cannot be persuaded by the bare Authority of *S. Hierom* (whom yet I take for a very Learned as well as Pious Father,) much less by that of *Walo Messalinus*, to believe against the Analogy of the Text, That he was Bishop of the *Philippians*, only because he is called by *S. Paul* their *Apostle*, *Phil. 2. 25*. The Observation *Walo* has made of the Word [*Apostle*,] that it is never used by the Evangelists, by *S. Paul* in any other Place, or by the other Apostles, but only *De Sancto Ministerio*, will hold no Water; for I take it that *John 13. 16*. in which Place the Word is used in a Common Promiscuous Sense, and rendred so by our Translators, stands impregnable, as a plain, direct and unavoidable Instance against him.

Irenaus is also cited, to prove that such a superiority as the Apostles themselves had in the Church, was transmitted by them unto Bishops; for, say you, this Father, who distinguishes between the Bishops and Presbyters, affirms, That the Apostles delivered to the Bishops, *suum ipsorum locum Magisterii*, their own Place of Magistrality or Government. *Irenaus* flourished towards the End of the 2d Century, and yet so near as he was to the Apostles own Times, if he affirmed, as he is aged by the most (tho' not by all) to have done, That our Lord Christ did undergo his Passion in the fiftieth Year of his Age, we shall have little Reason to be fond of his Authority, in Matters which he takes upon Trust, and by meer Report. But admitting *Irenaus's* Authority (which I am unwilling to lessen) to be as unblemished and as tight as one could wish it, yet on this occasion it will do you but small Service; for the Force of the Testimony which you cite from him, depends on the Word *Magisterium*; and *Magisterium* signifies not, as you understand it, [a Masterly Authority] but [teaching and Doctrin;] for in this latter Sense the Word is often used by other Fathers, and particularly by *S. Cyrillus*, as you may see *l. 1. cp. 3.* and in other Places; but this is a Sense that maketh nothing for you, for then *Irenaus* means no other than what *Tertullian* also affirms, and none will deny, that the Apostles delivered over to the Bishops their own Chairs of Doctrin; so that succeeding Bishops or Pastors were obliged to deliver no other Doctrin unto their Flocks, but that same which themselves had first received from those that were the *Founders* of Christianity.

In fine, as to what you mention (but somewhat invidiously) concerning the Judgment of the Assembly of Divines, the Gangrene of Mr. *Edwards*, and the overflow that was of Sects and Heresies in the Late Times (of the Interreign) which you would insinuate to be occasioned by the Intermision of Episcopacy. I answer, that there were Sects and Heresies even in the Times of the Apostles, and that *Irenaus*, *S. Austin*, *Philastrius* and *Epiphanius* have furnished the Christian World with large Catalogues of them, and of some in their own times; and yet I doubt not you will acknowledge, there were Bishops in the Church, even in those times; So that Episcopacy, if it be not Coercive, is no such Remedy against Sects and Heresies, as you would have us believe; and if it be Coercive, it is not purely Christian and Spiritual, but, in so much, has something in it of Secular and Worldly.

Thus I have reinforced my main Argument, and removed such Exceptions as you take

take against it; and now I shall not make your trouble much longer, but to elucidate some Incident and By Passages, which I will do with all the Brevity I can, and without formality of Method, only as they come to my Mind

Peter is first named where ever the whole Colledge of the Apostles is called over; but I do not infer, nor does it enforce, that any Primacy was due unto him, other than that of Precedence, which All Protestants (generally speaking) allow him.

It doth not appear that *James* at the Council of *Hierusalem*, spake with more Authority than the other Apostles, as Bishop of the Place. and President of the Synod. *Jesephus* indeed takes notice of him under an eminent Character, for Piety; but not a word in that Author of his eminent Dignity, as a Prelate. As for *Paul*, he calls him but plain *James*, not Bishop *James*; And though he put him before *Peter* and *John*, *Gal. 2. 9.* that preference might be only in respect of his being the Lord's Brother, *Gal. 1. 19.* and consequently is no great Argument of his Prelacy, in the modern sense of that word.

So *Zomen's* Censure of the practice of having more Bishops than one in one City, does prove that practice; though he did not approve it. *Epiphanius* also is cited by many to evidence that practice.

I yield not that *1 Cor. 14. 34.* which may be translated [in the Assemblies,] will demonstrate, that there were, at that time, several separate Meetings for Christian Offices in one City or Town, where was but one Church; And yet I grant it might happen to be so, upon Occasion; for our Experience Evinces it has been so of late, in a time of Persecution, among the Dissenting Churches, and what has been in our time, might on like Occasions have been before it. However, this Accident would not prove, nor indeed do I find any other proof, that there were in the first times of Christianity, Pastors who had the Care of several Churches; or, that any Church at that time did take in several Cities or Towns, which were remote; a Church properly being a Congregation, and consequently the People of a Vicinage or Neighbourhood, under Orders. *Cenchrea*, though one of the Ports of *Corinth*, had a Church of its own, distant from that at *Corinth*; and none, I think, will say, That that Church was Diocesan. The Council of *Chalcedon* prohibited absolute Ordinations.

That the end of the World, *Matth. 28. 20.* is literally to be understood of the end of the Jewish Policy, or the Mosaical *seculum*, seems evident, by comparing that Text with the 24. Chapter of the same Evangelist, Ver. 2, 14, and 24. The meaning of *Mat. 1. 29.* is, That *Joseph* did not know his Wife till she had brought forth her First-born, and that it will not follow, that he knew her afterward; And in this sense of [until] I make it parallel with *Mat. 28. 20.* So that when Christ says, He would be with his Apostles, *until* the end of the Jewish World, he is plain, he would be with them so long, but doth not imply by that [until] that he would be with them no longer. Without the favour that we commonly allow to popular Expressions, what is said, *Mat. 28. 20.* will not hold in the usual sense that is given it, as to the Apostles Successors, and with that favour, I see no strength in any Arguments against mine, which carries it, in the Letter unto the Apostles.

The Nature of Church-Government.

If the Apostles must not be understood to stand Personally, and only for themselves in that Commission, Mat. 28. they must be understood to stand in it Representatively, for the whole Church, or Body of Christian People, in that same manner as they stood for them in the Institution of the Lord's Supper, when it was said to them [*Do this in remembrance of me*] these words being said to them, not as they were Ministers, but as Communicants, *Take ye, eat ye, take, drink, do this in remembrance of me*; For else there is no Canon of Communion for the Common People, or Laity. Now I pray tell me, which of these Notions did the Apostles stand in when they received that Commission, Mat. 28. was it given to them as they stood Personally, for so many single Men, or as they represented the whole Community and Body of Christians? in One of these Two, they must necessarily stand; For the Apostles Collectively and all together, as a Body are never taken but in one or the other sense; they no where representing only the Ministers or Pastors; so that, by the Letter of the Commission, which is directed to the Body of the Apostles, either all Christians are empowered to Baptize and Preach, which I suppose you will not say, or else only the Apostles.

I acknowledge that *Cyprian*, though he calls the Presbyters his *Compresbyters*, yet never calls them his *Colleagues*; He does not call them fellow Bishops, tho he calls them fellow Presbyters because tho every Bishop was a Presbyter, yet every Presbyter was not a Bishop, in the appropriate sense of that word. However, tho he does not say of Presbyters in so many words, that they are the Colleagues of a Bishop, yet he comes very near it, when he tells them they are *Compresbiteri* with him, which he does, L. 1. Ep. 3. when writing to *Cornelius* that was a Bishop, he has this Expression [*Florentissimo CLEROTECUM PRESIDENTI*]. To the most flourishing Clergy that presides together with thee. And in truth, one must have read but little in *S. Cyprian*, to be ignorant that in his time the Presbyters or Clergy were joyned with the Bishop in Acts of Jurisdiction; and that not only the Clergy, but even the People too, had a great share therein, as well as the Bishops: And this, as in other matters, so even in those that related unto Bishops themselves. No less than all this is implied in that Exhortation of *Cyprian*: *An ad hoc frater Carissime deponenda Ecclesie Catholice Dignitas, & plebs incus posita fidelis atque incorrupta MAJESTAS, & Sacerdotalis quique AUTHORITY, ac potestas, Judicare velle se dicant de Ecclesie preposito extra Ecclesiam constituti?* What most dear Brother, is the dignity of (a) (or the) Catholick Church, the faithful and uncorrupt Majesty of the People that is in it, and also Authority and Power of the Priesthood to be brought to this, that such must talk of Judging concerning a Bishop of the Church, who themselves are out of the Church?

To conclude: That Alterations have been often made in the Church, both as to Government and Discipline, is so great and plain a truth, that none that knows the History can doubt of it: some of these came in early, by several steps, and others afterwards upon occasions that could not be foreseen. Some things in the Church are Fundamental, and of an Immutable nature. But there are others that relate to Government, Discipline and Administration, which depending upon the variable Circumstances of Times, Places, and Occasions, are, and must be, left to Christian Prudence. The Grounds I go upon in my Scheme, in which I have set out the principal Alterations that have been made, are owned by the Church of England, as to one Instance, (and the Reason of that one will hold in more,) when in its Canons and Constitutions, agreed An. Dom. 1640. Can. 1. It says, The power to call and dissolve Councils both National and Provincial, is the true right of all Christian Kings, within their own Realms, and Territories; And when in the first times of Christ's Church Prelates used this power; 'twas therefore only, because in those days they had no Christian Kings.] But it is time to end your trouble, and therefore I will add no more but to own my self,

S I R,

June 8th.
1690.

Your Humble Servant.



